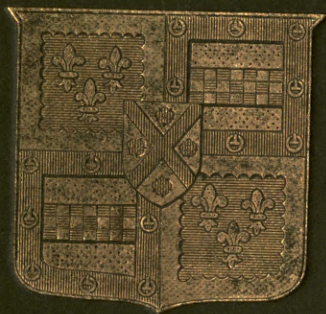
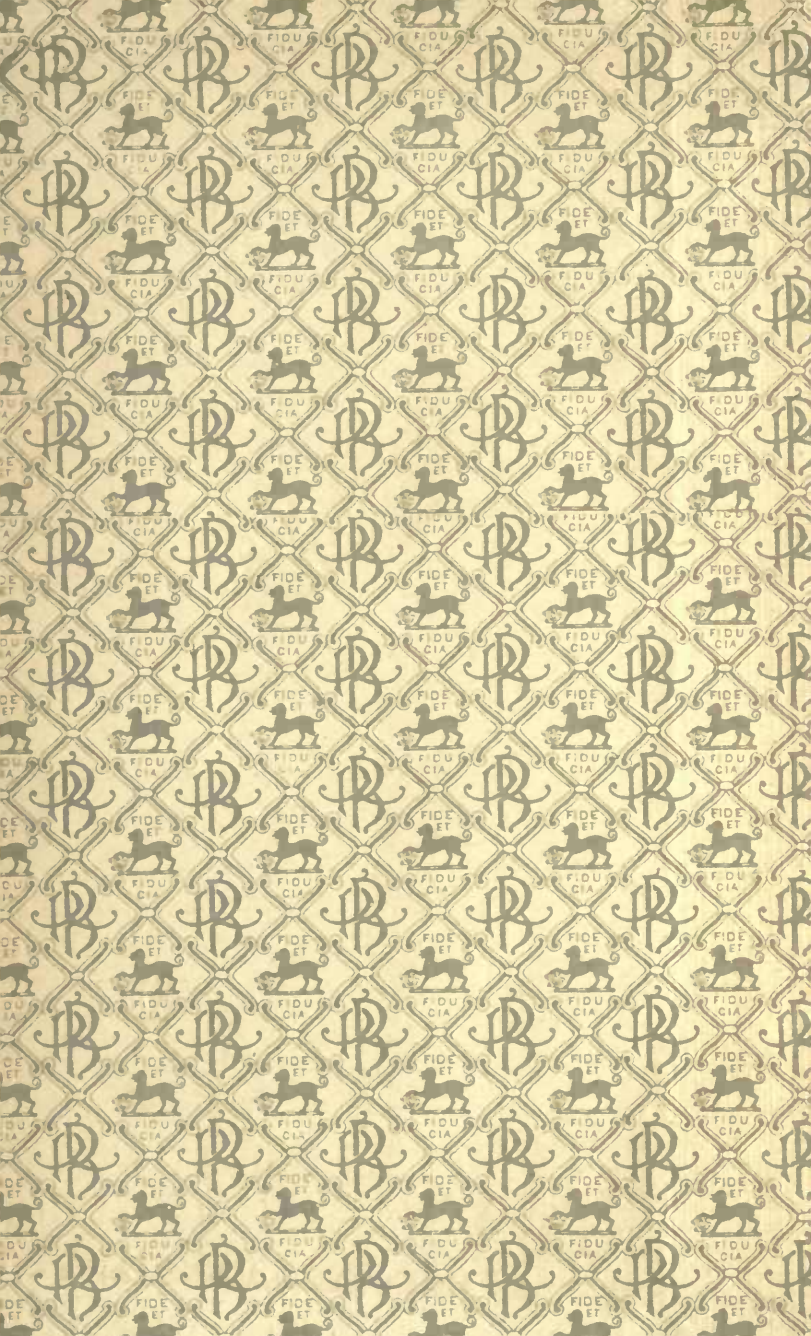


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LIFE OF ARABELLA STUART.





Arabella Stuart

Engraved by J.G. Stodart.

*From a contemporary miniature (originally
in the Harmond Collection) now in possession of M.^{rs} Hogge*

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L I F E O F

THE LADY

ARABELLA STUART.

IN TWO PARTS: CONTAINING A BIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIR,
AND A COLLECTION OF HER LETTERS, WITH NOTES AND
DOCUMENTS FROM ORIGINAL SOURCES, RELATING
TO HER HISTORY.

BY
Emily Tennyson
E. T. BRADLEY. Smith

IN TWO VOLUMES.
VOL. II.



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From a contemporary miniature (originally in the Harmond Collection) now in possession of Mrs. Hogge

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(Continued.)

CHAPTER XII.
HALCYON DAYS.

1611.

ON March 15, at eight o'clock in the morning,* the Bishop of Durham received the prisoner into his charge at Lambeth Ferry, and they started on their dismal journey northwards. Since only four days had been given for the preparations and packing necessary, all the arrangements had not been completed, and the Council had been obliged to take a night's lodging at Highgate, in the house of one Sir

* State Papers, James I., Dom., vol. lxii. p. 30, MS.

William Bond,* for the party. Thither the Bishop of Durham and Dr. Moundford,† Arabella's private physician, conveyed their protesting charge, but on the way she turned very faint, and the doctor was obliged to administer cordials to keep up her strength. All Arabella's courage seems to have failed when she found herself actually starting for her northern prison. It was in vain that the bishop exhorted her to patience, and related the lives of saints and martyrs less fortunate than herself. She was taken out of her litter at Highgate more dead than alive, bathed in a cold sweat; and worn out by the agitations of the day, it was not till midnight that she fell asleep, and her keepers left her, hoping, no doubt, to find her more resigned by the morning. But the next day, to the bishop's horror, the prisoner protested that she was physically incapable of proceeding another step on her journey, and, in spite of the good man's gentle words and persuasions, his praises

* See warrant, Part II. H, No. 19, p. 258.

† A certain Dr. Moundford attended Essex in prison just before his execution, and was on the scaffold with him.

of "the sweet day and air, and the duty of her journey," she clung firmly to her resolution. Dr. Moundford was seriously alarmed by her weakness, and both he and the prelate despatched letters * to the Council, describing the lady's condition, and asking for further instructions. A few days' delay was accordingly granted, but on March 21, in spite of Arabella's "extreme reluctance to proceed," she was moved on to Barnet. She seems to have been taken thither not only against her will, but by main force, being probably carried, protesting and weeping, to her litter, since the bishop writes that he was obliged to have "recourse to the means proscribed, which were employed with all decency and respect." Even on that short journey of six miles she was very ill, and only kept alive by her good doctor's † care.

Shrewsbury writes ‡ the next day, March 22,

* See the bishop's letter, State Papers, James I., Dom., vol. lxii. p. 39, MS.

† See also a letter of sympathy for Arabella addressed by one Lady Chandos to the doctor, on Good Friday, while they were at Barnet (Part II. H, No. 21, p. 260).

‡ Harl. MSS., 7003, fol. 114. Copies of this and the following letter are in the Sloane MSS., 4161, fols. 55, 56.

to thank Moundford for his attention to his niece, and also for the good counsel he had given her, "both to patience and to encouragement in her journey," which had been reported to him, as also how "very hardly the few miles you travelled yesterday were overcome." "For my part I can do her very small service more than by my prayers," he adds, with truth ; for the king's only reply to his pleadings on Arabella's behalf had been that "it was enough to make any sound man sick to be carried in a bed in that manner she is, much more for her whose impatient and unquiet spirits heapeth upon herself far greater indisposition of body."

By the earl's request, Moundford wrote an account of Arabella's state to his wife, her aunt Mary, of whom we shall hear more in connection with her niece later on.

James, who had all along suspected the lady's illness to be feigned, and was obstinate as usual in his preconceived opinion, refused to be convinced of the reality of her unfitness to proceed further until he had sent (March 26) the princes'

physician, Dr. Hammond, to Barnet, to report on the case. His disgust must have been great when Dr. Hammond confirmed the previous accounts of Arabella's condition.

Lord Shrewsbury writes to Moundford (March 29) * that he was present "yesterday morning when Dr. Hammond made report to the Lords in what state he found my Lady Arbella, being this in substance, that she is assuredly very weak, her pulse dull and melancholy for the most part, yet sometimes uncertain ; . . . her countenance very pale and wan ; nevertheless, she was free (he said) from any fever or any other actual sickness, but of his conscience he protested that she was in no case to travel until God restored her to some better strength, both of body and mind. . . . He attendeth on the princes (as always he doth) to Royston on Monday next, and then he is himself to relate the same to his Majesty, as he did to us ; for at that time his Majesty was so extremely pestered with despatches upon his going away, as there could be no full report made unto him of any particulars, only he was

* Harl. MSS., 7003, fol. 116 ; and in Sloane MSS., 4161, fol. 56.

told of her weakness. All her ladyship's friends in general are glad of the bishop's departing, and her stay for a time where she is to be, verily hoping that she will likewise receive great comfort therein; and how far soever her own melancholy thoughts (which have gotten the upper hand of her) have prevailed to lay nothing but despair before her eyes, yet the greatest, nearest, and wisest about his Majesty that do speak with me, do persuade themselves her imprisonment (wheresoever it be) and his Majesty's disfavour to her is not like to continue long; and therein I am bound to believe them, or else I must conceive they have neither honour nor conscience, for such is their protestations to me. God grant her ladyship may be of the same mind; as then I should not much doubt of her speedy recovery, which heartily praying for, I will here take my hearty leave.

“Your very assured, loving friend,

“GILB. SHREWSBURY.”

The earl's letter is in reply to one* from

* Sloane MSS., 4121, fol. 57.

Moundford he had received the day before (March 28), 'in which an account of the interview between his niece and the court physician is given.

Dr. Hammond "had access to her," Moundford writes, "before he spake with the lord bishop or did confer with me. She entertained him in respect of the persons from whom he said he was sent"—the king and Privy Council—"most respectfully; and in regard that he was not a stranger unto her, kindly. He felt her pulse, and entered into some discourse of her weakness and infirmities."

The great man stayed three days (March 26 to 28), feeling the lady's pulse and prescribing treatment at intervals, hoping, perhaps, to be able to take back a report that would please the king.

"I am sure that by neither of these," Moundford shrewdly adds, "he can warrant either amendment of her grief or continuance of life if some contentment of mind be not joined with physic, which I, with all due respect, will cause to be administered when time and opportunity of

place shall be afforded us. In the mean time, I am forced to instil in cordials, though with some fear" of the consequences in the lady's weak, excitable state, preferring to cherish "her to live, rather than by expecting [waiting] all circumstances incident to the perfect recovery of such an imperfect body, do nothing."

Poor Dr. Moundford was in an awkward plight, since, in spite of his patient's unfitness to travel, and the advice of the royal physician, he was obliged, by cordials and nursing, to prepare her for another short journey from Barnet to East Barnet.

This third removal was not, however, considered as a further stage on the northward journey; for James, in consequence of Dr. Hammond's report of the lady's extreme weakness, and also through the representations of her friends and the Lords of the Council, to whom she had addressed an eloquent petition (which her faithful servant Smith carried) soon after her journey from Highgate to Barnet, had granted a month's respite in which to recover her strength, dating from Lady Day (March 25).

The petition,* as well as the letter † of thanks Arabella wrote to the king, probably after she reached East Barnet, are given entire, since no extracts can do justice to her own pathetic account of her misery, and the relief which the promised month brought to her spirits. Unfortunately, the petition is endorsed in the State Papers with an impossible date (March 14), which would have been before she took her "discomfortable journey," or left Lambeth, and the letter to the king is undated; but they are placed here, rather than later on, from the evidence contained in the State Papers ‡ that the month was granted *before*, not *after*, she left Barnet.

"May it please your Lordships :

"I protest I am in so weak case as I verily think it would be the cause of my death to be removed any whither at this time, though it were to a place to my liking. My late dis-

* Harl. MSS., 7003, fol. 58. State Papers, James I., Dom., vol. lxii. p. 37.

† Harl. MSS., 7003, fol. 89.

‡ See Croft's letter to Privy Council, James I., Dom., vol. xiii. p. 38, MS.

comfortable journey, which I have not yet recovered, had almost ended my days, and I have never since gone out of a few little and hot rooms, and am in many ways unfit to take the air. I trust your Lordships will not look I should be so un-Christian as to be the cause of my own death, and I leave it to your Lordships' wisdom to consider what the world would conceive if I should be violently enforced to do it. Therefore I beseech your Lordships to be humble suitors in my behalf, that I may have some time given me to recover my strength, which I should the sooner do if I were not continually molested. And I will hope and pray that God will incline his Majesty's heart every way to more compassion towards me, who rest

“Very humbly at your Lordships' command,
“A. S.”

LADY ARBELLA *to the* KING (Draft).

“May it please your most excellent Majesty:

“Graciously to accept my most humble thanks for these halcyon days it hath pleased

your Majesty to grant me. And since it hath pleased your Majesty to give this testimony of willingness to have me live awhile, in all humility I beg the restitution of those comforts without which every hour of my life is discomfortable to me, the principal whereof is your Majesty's favour, which none that breathes can more highly esteem than I, who, whilst I live, will not cease to pray to the Almighty for your Majesty's prosperity, and rest

"Your Majesty's most humble and faithful,
almost ruined subject and servant,

"ARBELLA S."

In this letter we see her, as physical strength comes back, venturing once more, though in veiled language, to remind the king of the real cause of her misery.

Some time had been spent in finding a suitable house for the reception of the prisoner and her company; but, by the end of March, one belonging to a Mr. Thomas Conyers had been taken at East Barnet, at a rent of twenty shillings a week. Although Arabella had had

a severe attack in the head, the first ominous symptom of danger to her brain from excess of grief, and was very weak in consequence, she was conveyed to East Barnet on April 1, and was extremely ill on the journey.

The Bishop of Durham having seen her safe arrival at Mr. Conyers's house, immediately departed for the north, leaving her in the charge of Sir James Croft,* and his cousin, Sergeant Minors. On his way northwards he had an audience with the king at Royston, on April 2 or 3, and wrote † full particulars to Croft and Moundford.

“I was no sooner come into the court,” he says, “but I was presently brought to his Majesty, who asked me of the Lady Arbella, and where I left her. I told his Majesty of her estate in her three removes; of the grief which she conceived of his Majesty's indignation; of her hearty and zealous prayers for him and his; of her willingness, if it might so please him, even to sweep his chamber. Whereunto it

* Arabella must have been previously acquainted with Croft, since on her progress in 1609 his footman accompanied her from Toddington to Northampton (see Part II., p. 229).

† State Papers, James I., Dom., vol. lxii. p. 30, MS.

pleased his Majesty to call the prince, who was then in the same room. I do not see but that his Majesty is well pleased with the time she hath to recover strength, and that he hath an especial care that she should be used and respected as a noble lady of her birth and nearness to him; and time may work that which in this shortness cannot be effected. I pray you present my duty and service unto her, to pray her to remember what I oftentimes out of a true heart (as yourselves in my hearing have done) have said unto her. So shall she best please God by her obedience, satisfy his Majesty, comfort her own conscience, enable her good friends to speak for her, and stop the mouths (if any there be) who envy her restitution into his Majesty's favour. My poor opinion is that, if she wrong not herself, God in time will move his Majesty's heart to have compassion upon her."

Thus far we have followed the bishop's own words, and, indeed, the worthy man only repeated the sermons on the duty of passive obedience he had once at least (see p. 2), and

doubtless often enough, forced into Arabella's unwilling ears. All those round about her, except, probably, her immediate attendants, who afterwards helped her to escape, preached the same doctrine; but it was in vain they spoke to her of time and patience, when already nine months had passed, and brought her no nearer to her husband, rather taken her further away. Indeed, the bishop * spoilt the whole point of his argument by winding it up with a reminder (he wrote from Cambridge on April 17) that the month of respite was nearly over; and a prayer that the noble lady and he might meet in the north, adding that a rumour had reached him that, unless he "made better speed," the lady and her company would be in the north before him.

Indeed, as the month drew to its close, Arabella still appeared very weak and ill, and on April 17 Croft writes,† begging for further instruc-

* The bishop was so upset by his short experience as Arabella's keeper, that he had afterwards to go to Bath to recruit his health. State Papers, James I., Dom., vol. lxviii. p. 27, MS.

† State Papers, James I., Dom., vol. lxiii. p. 38, MS. (see p. 9 in text).

tions, and suggesting that, although the month had begun on March 25, her ladyship had been at East Barnet barely eighteen days on account of the delay there had been in finding her a house. As to her actual condition, he says that the rest and the "physic" have done her good, "that she is somewhat better and lightsomer than heretofore, but that not otherwise than that she hath not walked as yet the length of her bedchamber, to my knowledge; neither do I find her at any time otherwise than in her naked bed, or in her clothes upon her bed. Concerning her ladyship's mind, it is so much dejected, as she apprehendeth nothing but fear and danger in their ugliest forms, conceiting always the worst, and much worse than any way can happen unto her, of danger. As for her going this journey, or that his Majesty should dispose of her at his pleasure, she doth not gainsay, but the horrors of her utter ruin and end which hourly present themselves to her phantasy, occasioned (as she discovereth herself unto me) by the remoteness of the place whereunto she must go, driveth her to utter

despair to return, or to be able to live out one only year; where otherwise, if she were left, as her ladyship saith, in some convenient place, not so clean out of the world as she termeth Durham to be, she would gather to herself some weak hopes of more gentle fortune in time to come. These and the like are the best and pleasingest discourses that any time I can have with her ladyship, whereunto whatsoever I can reply to the contrary giveth her no manner of satisfaction at all."

Croft was most desirous to spare his charge any unnecessary suffering, and about ten days after writing this, he despatched Sergeant Minors, his kinsman, to the Council, to intercede for fresh delays, since the lady still appeared too weak to travel. Meanwhile, probably through his representations in the above letter, she had been allowed to overstay the original time allotted for her residence at East Barnet.

On April 28 Minors writes* to Croft, that he had been called before the Lords the night before. "I told," he says, "my lady's weak

* Harl. MSS., 7003, fol. 118.

estate, and afterwards they told me the king's absolute resolution, which is directly for Durham, for which she must prepare, although the journeys be never so little, to go on Monday next, which was the longest day I could get. I pray you let her know that some of the greatest of them did in solemn oaths protest that they find, by his Majesty's resolution, that there shall be no long abode for her there, but his Majesty intended her good in short time after, but that his Majesty kept that in his breast till he saw conformity ; but if his Majesty be king, he says, he will not alter this resolution. Therefore I pray you use your best means to prepare her ladyship for the journey at that day ; for there is no doubt it will follow for her honour's good, etc."

Sir James Croft again found his arguments of no avail. Perhaps Arabella herself, after her years at court, had too shrewd a knowledge of the king's character to believe the vague promises he held out ; his interpretation of what was best for her good would most assuredly differ from hers, and if the price of her pardon

was to be her renunciation of her husband, she must have felt that that pardon would be too dearly bought. In any case, to Durham she determined she would not go, and, whether by feigning to be worse than she really was, or by prayers and tears, she so wrought upon the kind knight, her guardian, that he and Dr. Moundford now appeared together before the king and Privy Council, in order to report her continued weakness.

All this took time, and it was therefore nearly a fortnight before James, "in the hearing of the prince, and the Lords of his Majesty's Council, did yield that one other month should be employed in her perfect cure, which new month began the 11th of this present May. During our attendance on his Majesty he used not one unkind or wrathful word of her, but mildly taxed her obstinacy, the conceit whereof I find did spring from such accidents as befell upon our first removes, reported unto him very untruly, with terms of violence offered by my lady to such as were used in that service. His Majesty's resolution was that to Durham she

should come, if he were king. We answered that we made no doubt of her obedience. Then he said, 'Obedience is that required ; which, being performed, I will do more for her than she expecteth.'" The above is from a letter * of Dr. Moundford's to the Bishop of Durham, who was anxiously awaiting their arrival in the north.

It seems that Arabella, hearing of the king's words, determined to make one more effort to gain time, and also to defend herself from his accusation.

"The premier reason," says Moundford, "which moved his Majesty to the grant of this second month was her submission in a letter to his Highness, with all due acknowledgments of her recovery from the grave by time most graciously granted her by him. This letter was penned by her in the best terms (as she can do right well), and accompanied with matter best befitting his Highness and her. It was often read without offence, nay, I may truly say even commended, by himself, with the applause of the prince and Council."

* Birch, Sloane MSS., 4161, fol. 61.

Arabella herself well understood how important this petition of hers might be, and she evidently spent much time and labour in composing it. Whole paragraphs are crossed over and over again ; there are several copies of the letter, some only half written, some finished, but all blotched and erased till they are almost illegible, except one fair copy written by a secretary. The following is the entire letter * :—

“May it please your excellent Majesty :

“Though it hath pleased God to lay so many crosses upon me as I account myself the most miserable creature living, yet none is so grievous to me as the loss of your Majesty’s favour, which appeareth, not so much to my unspeakable grief in any other effect of it (though the least of many it hath already brought forth is sufficient for my utter ruin), as in that your Majesty giveth credence (as I hear) to those sinister reports which impute that to my obstinacy which proceedeth merely out of necessity ; not willing that I might be thought guilty of

* Harl. MSS., 1003, fols. 79, 80, 83.

hastening my own death by any voluntary action of mine, having first endeavoured, by all good means, to make my extreme weakness known to your Majesty [by my Lord Fenton,* and by the Lords of your Majesty's most honourable Privy Council by writing, and many other ways before my remove. But my misfortune being such as not only any protestation of mine own, but the reiterated testimony of such grave persons as advertised the like, seemed of less weight than the traducements of some whisperers]. But nothing availing me, certainly I had suddenly perished if your Majesty had not speedily had compassion of me in granting me this time of stay for my recovery; to which, if it may please your Majesty of your gracious goodness to add three weeks more, Mr. Dr. Moundford hopes I may recover so much strength as may enable me to travel. And I shall ever be willing, whilst I breathe, to yield your Majesty most humble and dutiful obedience as to my

* The only extant letter to Lord Fenton has been placed later, but as it is undated, it is quite impossible to determine accurately whether it was written from Barnet or the Tower.

sovereign, for whose felicity for ever in all things I cease not to pray, and in all fortunes rest

“Your Majesty’s most humble and faithful
subject and servant,

“A. S.”

Following this copy in the Sloane MSS.* is a short paper, written in another hand, and signed “J.,” wherein, in words probably taken down from Arabella’s lips, she promises, as a proof of her obedience, “to undergo the journey after this time expired without *any resistance or refusal, to do such things as are fit for me to do to make my journey the less painful or perilous*; being now assured that your Majesty hath no purpose to make my correction my ruin in any sort, as I will hope confidently when I have herein satisfied the duty.” This promise seems, however, to have been given on the assurance that the king merely required a formal promise of obedience to save his honour, according to words added in the margin, in

* Vol. 4161, fols. 32, 33.

which Arabella says that "this" (*i.e.* the words in italics) "without the journey is enough if the king desire but his honour saved, as though I [illegible] resistance [illegible], and so the journey made perilous by myself, whereby I must confess I bely myself extremely in this."

It is worth noting, from the scanty but important evidence remaining, that as yet Prince Henry had not broken with his cousin, and still interested himself on her behalf. The evidence for this statement rests on the fact that James had sent for his son to hear the bishop's report of Arabella's condition at Royston, and that his name is twice mentioned in Moundford's letter, given above, as *hearing*—by which his approval may be taken for granted—in Council the king's resolution to grant a further respite to the prisoner, and also listening with applause to the reading of her eloquent petition. Besides that, amongst the accounts* of Arabella's expenses during her imprisonment, a sum of £5 is mentioned as owing to "Matthias Melward, one

* See Miss Cooper's "Life of Arabella Stuart," vol. ii. pp. 158-167.

of the prince's chaplains, for his pains in attending the Lady Arbella Seymour, to preach and read prayers during her abode at East Barnet ;" and Henry would not have sent one of his private chaplains had he not taken some interest in his old friend's spiritual wants. But little did either king or prince guess what plots were to be hatched during this additional month, and if it be true, as James's apologists have asserted, that he really intended to extend mercy, after he had tortured his cousin to his heart's content, most fatal to her own interests was the next step the despairing captive took.

Although Lady Shrewsbury had at first taken little *apparent* interest in her niece's fate, she was now working secretly and energetically for her deliverance, not without ambitious hopes of making an important position for herself among the Roman Catholics by thus playing into their hands. She plotted Arabella's escape to the Continent, where, though the burning interest such a *coup* would have excited in Elizabeth's time was no longer to be looked for, yet the Catholic powers would no doubt hail one

whose presence among them could be used as a continual weapon against the King of England.

As a matter of fact, James very much over-rated the dangers of his cousin's marriage and escape, and eight years' peaceable occupation of the English throne might have taught him better. Lady Shrewsbury determined not to tell any one of her plan till the "bird had been freed from its cage," and Arabella herself afterwards swore that "no foreign prince or state" had knowledge of it—everything was to depend on her reception abroad.

Later on, when these schemes had been discovered and defeated, the Earl of Northampton, in a letter* to the king (June 9, 1611), affirmed that the countess had been "the only worker and contriver of the lady's bedlam opposition against your Majesty's directions," and her purse the chief instrument of her escape. Out of the £2800 which Arabella now scraped together, her aunt sent her at least £1400, £850 of which was ostensibly to purchase some needlework of

* State Papers, James I., Dom., vol. lxiv. p. 23, MS.

Mary Queen of Scots, which was in Arabella's possession, and which, Northampton remarks, was not worth the eighth part of the money; the rest to pay her debts before she left for Durham.

Though Northampton wrote after the discovery of the plot, the details were still shrouded in mystery, the knowledge of it having been confined to them "that will rather die than discover one another;" and to this day we do not know how Lady Shrewsbury contrived to elude the surveillance of Arabella's keepers, nor are any letters of hers or of her niece's extant which might throw light upon their secret arrangements during that last month of captivity at East Barnet.

All except needful preparations appear to have been left till it was seen how the escaped captives would be received by foreign powers. Before proceeding to extremities, Lady Shrewsbury made an appeal, upon her niece's behalf, to Lord Rochester, the reigning favourite at that time, but he refused even to address the king on the subject. Arabella afterwards con-

fessed that this "uncomfortable answer" from Lord Rochester "moved her to think all labour lost in those ends which she affected for the satisfaction of her mind ;" *i.e.* she then gave up all hope of obtaining the king's pardon, and resolved to resort to extremities. Crompton, "that trusty rogue," was the medium through whom Lady Shrewsbury communicated with the prisoner. Later on he declared that "the only part" of his employment was no more than "the preparation of means, and the receipt of monies, which in appearance were the pieces of such employments," but in reality were to be used for his lady's wants. He took her also the man's disguise in which we shall shortly see her appear. Seymour, meanwhile, was helped by his bosom friend Rodney, and, by what means we do not know, but in some secret way, Seymour and his wife were kept precisely informed of each other's arrangements.

The month of rest at East Barnet was to end on June 8, and on Sunday, June 2, Rodney went to a house "by St. Mary Overy's, a part

of the Lord Montagne's house,"* and engaged some rooms, on the pretext that he was ill, and wanted rest. Thither the same night he sent his man and a French clockmaker with "four cloak-bags, a cabinet, and a fardel lapped in a white sheet, to be laid in his chamber;" and the landlady particularly noticed the extraordinary weight of these goods, and suspected they contained articles of value. Early the next morning (June 3) Rodney's servant added "a buckram bag full of stuff" to the rest of the things; and about 11 a.m. a flaxen-haired gentleman with no beard (later on we shall find him wearing a beard) came to inquire if Rodney had taken lodgings there. The landlady first denied that he had been there, but the stranger, without attending to her denial, told her that the rooms had been engaged for a lady of fashion, "by whom Mr. Rodney might receive much good." He then went away, but soon returned with a gentlewoman (an attendant of Arabella's, probably the Mrs. Bradshaw who

* Harl. MSS., 7003, fol. 126; copy in Sloane MSS., 4161, fol. 72. John, Lord Harington, to the Earl of Salisbury.

had witnessed her marriage, and who was found with her on board the French ship), "tall of person, not richly apparelled, and very pale; having a wart . . . on her face upon the cheek, under the eye." The two stayed in the house till two o'clock, superintending a waterman, who conveyed the goods to St. Tooley's Stairs; then they went away themselves, the gentleman first reconnoitring in the street, to see if any one was about. The landlady, whose curiosity was thoroughly aroused by these strange proceedings, sent her maid after them, and thus ascertained that they took a boat at Pickle Herring, over against the Tower.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE ESCAPE AND CAPTURE.

1611.

ALL the preparations for the prisoners' escape were now completed, and, as her last month of respite drew to an end, Arabella lulled her keepers and attendants "into security by a fair show of conformity and willingness to go on her journey towards Durham."

The date of her departure to the north was fixed for June 5, but while the king imagined that he had at last compelled his cousin to obey his will, she had secretly completed her arrangements for defying it, and on Monday, June 3, between three and four in the afternoon, she quietly walked out of Mr. Conyers's house, dressed in man's clothes, and accompanied by Markham, one of her attendants.

The explanation of the extreme ease with which the prisoner effected her escape in broad daylight may be found in the confession of Arabella's female attendant, a "minister's wife," who connived at the lady's departure, believing with great simplicity her assurance that she would return early the next morning. Arabella had worked on the tender-hearted woman's feelings by begging her to let her go and have a farewell interview with her husband before her departure for the north, and the maid had even helped her mistress to disguise herself by "drawing a pair of great French-fashioned hose over her petticoats, putting on a man's doublet, and man-like peruke, with long locks, over her hair; a black hat, a black cloak, russet"—or, according to another account, *white*—"boots with red tops, and a rapier by her side." *

After a walk of a mile and a half, Arabella and Markham reached a "sorry inn," where her faithful steward Crompton waited with saddle-horses. The poor lady, who had hardly been out of her room for weeks, and was worn out

* Winwood, vol. iii. p. 280, etc.

with anxiety and illness, here turned "very sick and faint, so as the ostler that held their stirrups said, '*That gentleman would hardly hold out to London;*' yet, being set on a good gelding, astride in unwonted fashion, the stirring of the horse brought blood enough into her face, and so she rode on towards Blackwall." *

Here Sir John More's account differs from the watermen, who were afterwards examined. More says that two men and two women were waiting for them when they arrived at Blackwall, at six o'clock, and that they started immediately. According to one of the watermen,† they tarried at the Blackwall tavern an hour and a half for their company, who came in scattered one after the other; but, as the attendants who had charge of the luggage were already there, having left the Tower as early as two o'clock, it is more probable that they delayed in the hopes of Seymour joining them.

They finally started in two boats, one a good

* See above, Winwood, vol. iii. p. 280, etc.

† State Papers, James I., Dom., vol. lxiv. p. 5, MS. Waad to Salisbury.

pair of oars, the other carrying the luggage brought from Rodney's lodgings. In one boat were three men; into the other, after they had put off from shore*—probably because the pair-oar was overweighted—they shipped Arabella and her waiting-woman, Mrs. Bradshaw. One other man and a maid remained, according to More, at the tavern; and certainly Arabella had only one woman and three men with her when they went aboard the ship at Lee. The men who accompanied her were Markham, Crompton, and Edward Reeves. Arabella sat, close covered, with a hood or veil over her face, in a long black cloak. The party loitered down the river, still in the hopes that Seymour would overtake them. Woolwich was their first stage; then they went on to Gravesend, where, as it was now dark, and the distance to Lee, where they expected to find the French bark they had chartered waiting, was long, the boatmen refused to row any further. However, for a double fare they at last consented to continue, and, after a further delay at Tilbury,

* State Papers, James I., Dom., vol. lxiv. p. 5, MS.

where the rowers insisted on going ashore to refresh themselves, they reached Lee at early dawn.

But they had not yet reached their goal—the French ship lay eight miles beyond Lee. At first the fugitives could not see it, and imagining that the captain had played them false, they hailed the first vessel they came to. This proved to be a brig* bound for Berwick, and Crompton vainly besought John Bright, the master, with offers of a large bribe to alter his course, and take them to Calais. Bright refused to oblige them, but he was able to point out a ship, riding about a mile and a half beyond, which proved to be the French vessel they were in search of.

The English captain's suspicions had been roused by their importunity, and perhaps by the muffled-up person with a "marvellous fair white hand" showing beneath her cloak when she pulled off her glove. He therefore carefully took note of the whole party, and watched them as they went on board the bark ahead,

* See Bright's Examination, State Papers, James I., Dom., vol. lxiv. p. 30, MS.

which had meanwhile displayed the promised signal, a flag. He took Mrs. Bradshaw, who "was barefaced, in a black riding safeguard, with a black hat, having nothing on her head but a black hat and her hair," for "Moll Cutpurse." "One of the men," he said, "was about forty, with a long flaxen beard, something corpulent," and in spite of the beard, which may well have been a false one, this seems to answer to our flaxen-haired friend Edward Reeves, to whom the care of the luggage from the tavern had been entrusted. In the younger man, with a little black beard, who was the most eager for him to take them to Calais, and "proffered large sums of money for the passage," we cannot fail to identify the zealous Crompton.

It was now four o'clock in the morning, and every minute was precious ; yet Arabella still lingered, waiting for her husband, who, for some inexplicable reason, had reached Blackwall after she had left. At last, "through the importunity of her followers," and too late, as it proved, to secure her own safety, she was obliged to yield, and allow the French captain to put off to sea ;

but two hours were wasted on account of the tide.

In the mean time, Seymour had successfully completed his preparations for his escape, and giving the same reason for his absence with which his wife had tricked poor simple Mrs. Adams, he persuaded his servant to assist him to dress. The valet, seriously believing, or pretending to believe, that his master would return in a few hours, agreed to tell any one who inquired for Mr. Seymour during his absence that he had "newly betaken himself to rest, being troubled with the tooth-ache," and must not be disturbed.*

It is evident that some mistake had arisen about the hour of meeting, since by the time, eight o'clock at night, that Seymour left his prison, Arabella was already some miles on her way down the Thames, and he did not reach Blackwall for more than an hour after she had started.†

* More's Letter continued, vol. iii. p. 280, etc.

† William Waad to Salisbury, State Papers, James I., Dom., vol. lxiv. p. 5, MS.

The other arrangements went off without a hitch. Seymour, disguised with "a peruke and beard of black hair, and in a tawny suit"—the whole furnished by Rodney—slipped out of the great west gate of the Tower in the wake of a cart piled with faggots, and, passing along the wharf under the very nose of the warders at the south entrance, reached the iron gate, where Rodney was waiting with a boat, without having been challenged. At Lee, of course, they were too late for the French ship, and so, after searching in vain for that vessel, they finally induced a Newcastle collier,* for the sum of £40, to take them to Calais, expecting there to meet the rest of the party.

Before leaving Rodney had written to Francis Seymour, with whom he lodged, and who was, as we have seen before, on affectionate terms with William and his wife. His letter was to be delivered on Tuesday morning at 8 a.m., by which time Rodney had calculated that the fugitives would be safe from all pursuit. Thanks, however, to Seymour's dilatoriness—his indolent

* Letter of Sparrow and Cage, Harl. MSS., 7003, fol. 132.

character is noticed by his biographers—and Arabella's love for him, this letter proved the ruin of the poor wife's hopes.

Rodney did not explain his sudden desertion of his fellow-lodger, excusing his apparent want of confidence in him by his fears of the old earl; but Francis took alarm at the ambiguous tone of the letter. More careful of his own reputation than mindful of the claims of kinship, he went straight off to the Tower, and, disregarding the servant's expostulations, pushed into his brother's empty bedchamber. Then he and the Governor of the Tower, Sir William Waad, lost no time in communicating the escape to the king and Salisbury, who were at Greenwich.*

Francis was, after an examination before the Privy Council, confined to his lodgings upon suspicion, although, as he truly asserts, he was as innocent of "their practises as is the child that was but yesterday born."†

* For details, see letter from F. S. to the Earl of Hertford, Harl. MSS., 7003, fol. 122.

† Letter from F. S. to his grandmother, State Papers, James I., Dom., vol. lxiv. p. 8, MS.

The king and his Lords worked themselves up into a state of almost ludicrous terror at the news. True, should the couple escape abroad, the foreign Catholic Powers might use their claims as an excuse for interfering in English affairs; but, as one of Winwood's correspondents—who, as a contemporary, might have been expected to join the general panic—sensibly remarks* “the danger was not like to have been very great, in regard that their pretensions are so many degrees removed” (by the direct claims of James's own sons), “and they *ungraceful*† both in their persons and their houses; so as a hot alarm taken at the matter will make them more illustrious in the world's eye than now they are, or, being let alone, ever would have been.”

It is sad to see, by the end of this same letter,

* Winwood, vol. iii. p. 281.

† The word “ungraceful,” which has misled some writers into an unflattering account of Arabella's looks, certainly has not the literal significance, but probably means “out of favour,” *i.e.* objectionable to the king. This sense would fit both persons and houses, since the individuals themselves and the families to which they belonged were not in high favour at court.
—Explanation by Canon Jackson.

that Prince Henry had now quite deserted his unfortunate friend, and joined with the rest of the world against her, one of the rare occasions on which he sided with his father. "It"—the escape—"is said to fill his Majesty with fearful imaginations, and with him the prince, who cannot be removed from any settled opinion."

It is impossible to express the wild and unreasoning consternation that reigned at court on that eventful day, June 4. Lord Nottingham, the lord high admiral, took, however, a more common-sense view of the matter. He is sorry they have escaped, as it will trouble his Majesty, but "England will find no loss by their absence. . . . The best that I do think, as it falleth out, is that it do not appear to the world that there is here any account made of them. The wind is bad, and they cannot have gone far" * (June 4).

This was very sensible advice, but even Salisbury, to whom it was addressed, could not have appeased the king's terror. Despatches were sent to Calais to arrest the fugitives; letters

* State Papers, James I., Dom., vol. lxiv. p. 4, MS.

were immediately written to the King and Queen Regent of France, and the Archdukes, requesting them not to protect the offenders, but to send them back without delay. The king's messengers were galloping from Lord Nottingham and his admiral (Sir William Monson) to Salisbury and back, with "Haste, haste! post haste! haste for your life! your life!" upon their despatches. In this passionate hurry there was a proclamation,* "first conceived in very bitter terms, but by my lord treasurer's (Salisbury's) moderation, seasoned at the print" (Winwood, see above).

The wildest rumours were afloat—one that old Lord Hertford had died of the shock;† while, as a matter of fact, the old man had been sent for‡ to court, and was in abject terror lest he should be accused of having abetted his grandson's evasion. The dutiful Francis had written§ at once to inform him of the news, and his grandfather immediately posted back his

* Part II. I, No. 1, p. 267.

† State Papers, James I., Dom., vol. lxiv. p. 6, MS. Letter of Lord Fenton.

‡ Ibid., p. 7, MS.

§ Page 38, note.

letter to Salisbury, with an enclosure of his own protesting his innocence of all knowledge of the plot. The infirm old man's hands trembled so much, either with terror on his own account or from the agitating memories William's escapade called up, that, while reading Francis's letter by the light of his "size"—a wax taper—he set fire to part of it, and adds a postscript of excuse for his negligence to his own letter to the lord treasurer. The ill-omened epistle which brought the news of the young couple's rash attempt is still to be seen among the Harleian MSS. (7003, fol. 124), but the bit which was actually burnt away only contained the one word "Tower."

Meantime Admiral Monson, by the directions of the lord admiral and the lord treasurer, was taking active measures. What with contrary winds and tides, he felt sure they would not reach Calais that night (June 4), and a light pinnace, called the *Adventure*, which with other boats he had sent, after judicious inquiries among the fishermen, in pursuit, soon returned in triumph, with Arabella and her party on board.

The captain writes * to the lord high admiral that "under the South Sundhead we saw a small sail, which we chased, and proving little wind, we sent our boat with shot and pikes, and half channel over our boat did overtake them, and making some few shot, they yielded, where we found divers passengers, among the rest my Lady Arbella, her three men, and one gentlewoman. We cannot yet find Mr. Seymour here. My lady saith that she saw him not, but hopeth that he is got over."

Monson writes,† enclosing the above letter, to Salisbury, to request "his Majesty's directions how to dispose of my lady, for that I am unwilling she should go ashore until I have further authority ; but in the mean time, she shall not want anything the shore can afford, or any other honourable usage."

More also describes‡ the capture : "This pinnace," he says, "spying the aforesaid bark, which lay lingering for Mr. Seymour, made to

* Letter of Griffin Cocket, Harl. MSS., 7003, fol. 128, for these and above details.

† Harl. MSS., 7003, fol. 130.

‡ Winwood, vol. iii. p. 281.

her, which endured thirteen shots of the pinnace before she would strike. In this bark is the lady taken, with her followers, and brought back towards the Tower, not so sorry for her own restraint as she should be glad if Mr. S. might escape, whose welfare she protesteth to affect more than her own."

We see here and in the captain's letter another proof, if one were wanted, of Arabella's tender, unselfish love for her husband. He at the very time of her capture had reached Ostend, and gone at once on to Bruges, sending "a messenger along the coasts to hearken after the arrival of his lady."

But he was not destined to meet his wife again. She was by James's command brought back, a strictly guarded prisoner, to the Tower, and entered that dreary prison, never to taste of liberty again, never to see, probably never to hear more from, her husband.

One or two ballads, amongst them a quaint one called "The True Lover's Knot Untied,"* written in James I.'s reign after the old Earl

* See Part II. J, No. 4, p. 275.

of Hertford's death, have attempted to describe the tragedy of Arabella's situation ; but neither prose nor poetry can express the utter despair this final separation from her adored husband caused her.

James is said to have been utterly without the quality of mercy, and Arabella's fate seems fully to bear out this accusation. Not only the chief offender, but also her aunt, Lady Shrewsbury, her lenient keeper, Sir James Croft, her physician, Dr. Moundford, her attendants, and all * who were suspected of having had a hand in the conspiracy, were committed to the Tower. Her uncle, the Earl of Shrewsbury, was put under strict guard at his own house ; and the old Earl of Hertford was summoned peremptorily to court, in spite of his protestations. An examination was held before the Lords of the Council of all concerned in the escape, and the details we have already given came to light, although no more was ever learnt of the actual workings of the conspiracy.

Arabella " answered the Lords at her exami-

* See lists of prisoners in Part II. I, No. 2, pp. 268, 269.

nation with great discretion, but the other [Lady Shrewsbury] is said to be utterly without reason, crying out that all is but tricks and gigs; that she will answer nothing in private, and if she have offended the law, she will answer it in public. She is said to have amassed a great sum of money to some ill use; twenty thousand pounds are known to be in her cash, and that she made provision for more bills of exchange to her niece's use than she had knowledge of; and though the Lady Arbella hath not *as yet* been found inclinable to popery, her aunt made account belike that, being beyond the seas in the hands of Jesuits and priests, either the stroke of their arguments or the pinch of poverty might force her to the other side." *

What we read here may well bear out the supposition that Seymour's unflattering remarks about "my lady" (see vol. i. p. 267) referred to Mary's machinations, which, indeed, undertaken partly from ambitious motives, worked more harm than good to her niece. All that is told

* Winwood, vol. iii. p. 281.

of her elsewhere shows that she was a clever woman of a bold and unscrupulous character, very different to her gentle sister Elizabeth, Arabella's mother.

But she was destined to pay dearly for her fault by years of dreary expiation in prison. Although it was found impossible to make the prisoners' offence high treason, yet it was enough for the obsequious Lords that the king wished his troublesome cousin and her still more dangerous aunt safely disposed of; and so, after a mock-trial, the two were remanded to the Tower for an indefinite period. The rest of those actually implicated in the plot were also sentenced to various terms of imprisonment.

Among the State Papers is a letter* from poor Sir James Croft, soliciting his enlargement, being, as he indeed was, wholly innocent of the lady's escape, and he dwells pathetically upon his thirty-six years' faithful service to the king. There is no doubt that his prayer was granted, and that he was soon set at liberty.

* Calendar of State Papers, James I., Dom. (1611-18), p. 43.

Meanwhile Seymour tarried in Holland, and induced the Archdukes * to send an ambassador over to intercede with the king in his favour, "begging his Majesty to pardon so small a fault as a clandestine marriage, and to suffer him and his wife to live together."

But James proved obdurate; the "small fault" was to him a mountain of iniquity, and the only reply Seymour received was a message† from Salisbury, telling him that he would never find favour with the king "while he liveth under any of the territories of Spain, Rome, or of the Archdukes."

Moved by this warning, Seymour shortly afterwards went on to Paris (September 3, 1611), where he remained in exile until his wife's death, without, as far as we know, making any further efforts either to communicate with or help her.

It should not, however, be too hastily concluded that Seymour's inaction meant indifference. On the contrary, we know, from con-

* The *Archdukes* Albert and Isabella, so called because Albert governed the Netherlands in right of his wife.

† June 20, Salisbury to Trumbull. Winwood, vol. iii. p. 282.

temporary authority, that the young man chafed much during his enforced exile, and was ready to join in seditious talk—though he never got so far as an actual plot—with other malcontents abroad.

A letter* dated May 26, 1613, which has been discovered by Mr. Inderwick, in his researches on this very subject, from an unnamed person in Paris, gives an interesting account of Arabella's banished husband. Unfortunately, the letter was burnt in the fire among the Cotton. MSS. some years ago, and only the middle is legible. In it we find that Seymour is much vexed that the king had not bestowed any grace upon him, nor allowed his lady and he to come together again, so that she has become distracted in mind, whereby he hears she cannot live long, and he has therefore determined to take some other course. This was, however, an empty threat, as without powerful friends or influence at court Seymour could do nothing, and he was therefore obliged to let his lady languish in the Tower.

* Cotton. MSS., Cal. E. xi. 306.

Satisfied that he had Arabella safely in his clutches, James troubled himself little with her husband, and the Earl of Hertford was the only person who agitated himself about the young man during his exile. The grandfather's letters to William are almost comical in their intense anxiety. At one time, hearing a rumour that his grandson was about to become a papist, he despatches his chaplain, and a former tutor of William's, one Pelling, to keep him in the right way. At another he agitates about the young man's constant companionship with Rodney, whom Hertford seems always to have disliked and distrusted. Seymour, having complained that it was impossible to live on his allowance (see letter quoted above in the Cotton. MSS.), Hertford writes (October, 1613) in querulous tones to ask whether £400 a year from an aged grandfather, whose estate was crippled by debts, was not an "exceeding great allowance." *

* See, for above extracts, Longleat Papers, given by Canon Jackson, in *Wilts. Archaeological Magazine*, vol. xv. pp. 159-202; also State Papers, James I., Dom., vol. lxvi. pp. 21, 27; and vol. lxvii. p. 3.

The young man was not yet satisfied, for in September, 1615, he writes * a complaining letter to Francis, asking the old earl again to release him from his debts. In future, he says, he "must cut his coat according to his cloth." On the back of this letter is a note endorsed, "September 28," and probably in Francis's hand, "The Lady Arbella died Tuesday night, being the 25th of September, 1615."

A few months after his wife's death, Seymour, following the advice his grandfather had constantly urged upon him, wrote a letter of penitence for his transgressions to James, and now all danger was over, he was permitted to return to England (February, 1616).

His father had died in July, 1612; his elder brother, whose name had once been coupled with Arabella's, in 1618, when William became Lord Beauchamp, and three years later he succeeded his grandfather as Earl of Hertford (1621). His later history does not belong to our present scope. Enough to say that he played a great part on the Royalist side through-

* Unpublished MSS., furnished by Canon Jackson.

out Charles I.'s reign, and was rewarded at the Restoration by a special Act of Parliament, which at last righted the wrongs of Katharine Grey, by recognizing her grandson as her *legitimate* descendant, and restoring to him the title and estates of his great-grandfather, the Protector Somerset.

In 1617 he had married a second wife, a daughter of the Earl of Essex, and by the name, "Arbella," of his eldest daughter (who died unmarried), we see that he wished to keep up the memory of his unfortunate first wife, and that, in spite of years of separation and silence, he had not altogether forgotten her.

CHAPTER XIV.

DESPAIR AND DEATH.

1611-1615.

WE must return to the history of Arabella, and gather up the scanty records of her last years. Black despair overwhelmed the wretched captive as the Tower gates closed irrevocably upon her hopes of happiness. At first she writes heart-rending letters* to her friends at court, humbling herself to the very dust. Her appeals were disregarded. James had too successfully impressed his principle of absolute obedience upon his servile courtiers, but the whirlwind he had sown was to be reaped by his darling, his "Baby Charles," years after both the obstacles to his present peace, Prince Henry and Arabella, had been laid in their graves.

* See three undated letters, Part II. H, Nos. 22, 23, 24, pp. 261-263.

The Earl of Shrewsbury had the will, but not the power, to help his favourite niece. He was watched as closely as if he had been a prisoner himself, and his wife, who had shown only too well her ability to be of use to the unfortunate prisoner, was now in the same plight herself.

A "Memorial concerning the Lady Arbella" * was sent in to the Council, desiring that her servants, especially one Peter, who had attended her husband, "an ancient servant of hers," Fretwell, an embroiderer, and Smith, the same who had once carried her letters to Seymour from Lambeth, might be allowed to attend her in the Tower. "For a woman she desireth Lady Chaworth.† Her desire is that Mr. Yelverton"‡ —the Yelverton whose name is associated with hers in her licence for appointing persons to keep taverns and sell spirits in Ireland—"may receive her money and jewels. There must of necessity be linen bought both for her wearing,

* Harl. MSS., 7003, fol. 72.

† Probably wife of the young Chaworth who was her messenger in 1603.

‡ She evidently owed Yelverton a debt, which was paid by some money found on her person. Part II. I, No. 4, p. 270.

for sheets, and table linen, whereof there is not any amongst her stuff. She hath thirty-two servants, for which some order would be taken." This memorial is undated, but it must have been sent in during the first days of her imprisonment ; for Sir William Waad, the Governor of the Tower, writes to Salisbury on June 11, to say that Lady Arabella awaits his directions, and wishes for the Lady Chaworth to be with her.* By the letter to Lord Fenton, it seems that Arabella's request to have her servants about her was not granted.

Some of the money found upon her person was confiscated to pay the expenses of her capture.† A parcel of gold, amounting to £388, besides jewels, was given over into the hands of Sir William Bowyer, one of the tellers in his Majesty's receipts, by a warrant ‡ from the Lords of the Council.

He was bidden first to take them to the Tower, and ask the lady if the whole belonged to her,

* State Papers, James I., Dom., vol. lxiv. p. 26, MS.

† Part II. I, No. 3, p. 270.

‡ Harl. MSS., 7003, fol. 138.

and whatever belonged to her servants was to be returned to them. The rest, after some of the jewels had been sold to pay her debts,* was to remain in Bowyer's custody, and no part of it was henceforth to be delivered to Arabella without a warrant from the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

From the time of her capture, and as the dreary months went on in the Tower, Arabella lost all her bright spirits, and relapsed into an hysterical state, not unlike the phase she passed through during her trouble of 1603. This time, however, there was no hope to bear her up, and gradually the clouds of melancholy settled upon her mind, and the report went abroad that she was mad. We shall come to the question of her madness later on ; but as yet her sanity was unquestioned, and one of her undated letters should be read at this period, as, if it is from the Tower,† it cannot have been written many months after her second arrest. She would

* Part II. I, No. 4, p. 270.

† The fact that she refers to her rejected petition to have her servants with her seems to fix it as from the Tower ; hitherto she had had Smith and Mrs. Bradshaw, besides others.

not have been so full of the rejection of her prayer to have her own servants about her, and the weakness to which she refers was no doubt a return of her illness at East Barnet, caused by the agitation and excitement of her attempted escape.

The letter* referred to, which is addressed to Lord Fenton, and given entire in Part II., contains a graphic account of her state. Some passages in it are especially tragic, marking her fears that, under this terrible trial, her already weak body, and perhaps her mind too, must give way. "I shall be suspected and restrained," she says, "till help comes too late;" and again, "If you remember, I dare die so I be not guilty of my own death."

This letter is one of the few written after her second arrest and final incarceration, and to which a probable date can be affixed. As a rule, the petitions and letters contain no dates, and no internal evidence to fix the date.

Amongst these undated documents there is a

* Part II. H, No. 25, pp. 263-266.

moving letter * to the queen, who is implored "to consider how long I have lived a spectacle of his Majesty's displeasure, to my unspeakable grief," which may well have been written from the Tower this year, before all communication between the prisoner and the outer world ceased. With it she enclosed a petition "to the King, against this time" † (Christmas, no doubt, by the context), "when the rather, I am sure, his Majesty forgiveth greater offences as freely as he desires to be forgiven by Him, whose sacrament he is to receive." The petition may have been one of those we have placed earlier, but it is again impossible to fix upon any one as written at this time.

On June 30, 1612, the Countess of Shrewsbury was had up for trial before the Council and judges at the lord chancellor's, to answer to the charges made against her of having known of and abetted Arabella's escape, directly proved by Crompton, and not denied by her niece.

* Part II. H, No. 26, p. 266.

† Mr. Inderwick also dates this Christmas, 1611, but Lady Theresa Lewis places it as late as the Princess Elizabeth's marriage.

It was even admitted that Arabella had personally "had no evil intent against the king, who had always a great and special care of her, and was very bountiful unto her until her marriage with the said Seymour, who was the *pomum vetitum*" (the forbidden fruit to which James had referred, see vol. i. p. 261). "Yet when she fled, and when she should be environed with evil spirits, *cum perversis perverti possit*"—i.e. "Evil communications corrupt good manners"—"and when she shall be in another sphere, she will not move within the same orb." *

Arabella had answered the questions at her first examination with so much propriety that she was not had up again; but Lady Shrewsbury was now indicted for "high and great contempt," since she had refused to reply to any of the accusations, and had altogether behaved very indecorously in the first outbreak of her rage at the failure of her plan. The following had been, and still were, her reasons for not replying: "I. Because she had made a rash vow that she would not declare anything in

* State Trials, Cobbett; see Sir F. Bacon's speech, p. 60.

particular touching the said points, and it was better to obey God than man. 2. She stood upon her privilege of nobility to answer only before her peers."

The solicitor-general, Sir Francis Bacon,* who presided at the trial, addressed her in a lengthy speech. He dwelt first upon Arabella's extremely ill-advised course in "transacting the most weighty and binding part and action of her life, which is her marriage, without acquainting his Majesty, which had been a neglect even to a mean parent ; but being to our sovereign, and standing so near his Majesty as she doth, and she then choosing such a condition as it pleased her to choose, all parties laid together, how dangerous it was my lady might have read it in the fortune of that house whereunto she is matched ; for it was not unlike the case of Mr. Seymour's grandmother. The king nevertheless so remembered he was a king, as he forgot not he was a kinsman, and placed her

* Mr. Spedding says that there is little doubt that this speech is by Bacon (see his "Life of Bacon," vol. iv. p. 297 ; also "Cabala," p. 369).

only *sub libera custodia*. But now did my lady accumulate and heap up the offence with a far greater than the former, by seeking to withdraw herself out of the king's power into foreign parts. That this flight or escape into foreign parts might have been seed of trouble to this state, is a matter whereof the conceit of a vulgar person is not incapable. For although my lady should have put on a mind to continue her loyalty, as nature and duty did bind her, yet, when she was in another sphere, she must have moved in the motion of that orb, and not of the planet itself, and God forbid the king's felicity should be so little as he should not have envy and enviers enough in foreign parts."

Bacon continued for a while in the same courtier-like strain, and it was this very year (1612) that he succeeded in gaining James's good graces, after Salisbury's death rising rapidly into favour and receiving promotion.

He now addressed himself directly to the haughty countess: "This fact of conspiring in the flight of this lady may bear a hard and

gentler construction—if upon overmuch affection to your kinswoman, gentler ; if upon practice or other end, harder. . . . Nay, you must learn duty of the Lady Arbella herself, a lady of the blood, of a higher rank than yourself, who declining, and that by request neither, to declare of your fact, yieldeth ingenuously to be examined of her own.”

The result of the trial was that Lady Shrewsbury was condemned by the Star Chamber to pay a fine of £20,000, and to be confined during his Majesty's pleasure. It is extremely doubtful that her impoverished husband, who was, like the rest of his family, loaded with debts, could raise such a large sum ; and the anxiety consequent on his money difficulties and the imprisonment of his wife and niece quite broke down his health. During the latter part of this year Lady Shrewsbury's imprisonment had been gradually relaxed ; she was allowed the “liberty of the Tower,” and went home to nurse poor Gilbert through an illness.

But her restless mind was not one to bear imprisonment without seeking an escape, and

early in 1613 she fell into mysterious disgrace. Chamberlayne (see below) repeats a vague rumour that her niece was the cause of her aunt's fresh misfortunes, but there is no other evidence to connect Arabella with the matter, and we only know that the countess was had up twice before the Lords that year, each time refusing to answer questions.

Chamberlayne writes * to Winwood on January 29, 1613, that Lady Shrewsbury "is now of late restrained and kept more close upon somewhat discovered against her (*as they say*) by her niece, the Lady Arbella." And he says † on March 10, "The Lady Arbella hath been dangerously sick of convulsions, and is now *said* to be distracted, which, *if it be so*, comes well to pass for somebody [the countess], whom they say she hath nearly touched."

The question of Arabella's madness is now before us, but Chamberlayne's *on dits* are very unsatisfactory, and certainly do not furnish sufficient evidence to justify the usual description of the lady as a hopeless lunatic. Lady

* Winwood, vol. iii. p. 429.

† Ibid., p. 442.

Theresa Lewis has discussed the matter with much judgment in her "Clarendon Gallery" (vol. ii.), and from a careful sifting of the scanty evidence and the few passages referring to the subject in contemporary letters, we prefer to believe, with her, that the fits of madness were only temporary alienations, and that between them Arabella was as sane as a person distracted by grief and imprisonment can be. For ourselves, we believe also that these fits of so-called madness resembled the hysterical attacks to which she had been subject before, and were brought on by any extra worry, as in 1603, when her letters are often those of a person who is worked up into a state of great nervous irritability. By our arrangement of the undated letters, as well as by passages from contemporary ones, it is certain that her attacks always followed some disappointment.

Early in February we hear for the last time of the poor lady's dresses. Even in her captivity she seems to have kept her extravagant tastes. On the occasion of Princess Elizabeth's marriage to the Prince Palatine, Arabella

showed her desire to take part in the bridal festivities by "buying four new gowns, whereof one cost £1500."* One of these dresses was probably the "riche gowne embroidered with pearles," mentioned by the Lieutenant of the Tower as amongst the prisoner's apparel at her death. The pearls for this costume were valued at £400; but the bill had never been paid, so the dress was laid aside in order to return the jewels to the seller. Sir William Bowyer had no doubt refused to allow the spendthrift lady as much for her clothes as she liked to spend, and so she ran, as usual, into debt.

She must still have had a fair number of jewels of her own, since four months after her death a warrant from the Privy Council, which ordered those of her fellow-prisoners who possessed any of her goods to give them up to the Crown, names Sir Walter Raleigh,† whose love for precious stones was renowned, as the possessor of some of Arabella's jewels. He had been

* Calendar of State Papers, James I., Dom. (1611-18), p. 170, MS.

† Edwardes, "Life of Sir Walter Raleigh," vol. i. p. 558.

imprisoned in the Tower since 1612, and probably purchased the things on the lady's death.

In May of this very year 1613, the Lieutenant of the Tower, Sir William Waad, who was a very grasping man, and had seized upon Seymour's goods after his escape,* was dismissed † from his post on the charge of having embezzled some of the Lady Arabella's jewels, and also because he was thought to have been too severe against his unfortunate charge.

Before we give the last petition, let us notice another reason why Arabella should have been reduced to a worse state than ever of grief and despondency.

Just before he left England, Elizabeth's young bridegroom made a suit to the king for the enlargement of Lord Grey, who was still in the Tower; perhaps intending to indirectly aid the other prisoners, and especially Arabella, to whom in her childhood at least, Miss Strickland

* State Papers, James I., Dom., vol. lxvii. p. 94, MS.

† Ibid., vol. lxxii. p. 129; and Somer's "Tracts," vol. ii. p. 283.

tells us, the princess had been attached. The attempt to rescue Grey failed, as we see below ; but it is evident that there was some connection between the affair and both Arabella and her aunt—what, we cannot tell.

James's answer to his son-in-law was a characteristic one.* "The king told him he marvelled how he should become suitor for a man whom he neither knew nor ever saw. He answered that he was recommended to him by his uncles, the Duke of Bouillon, the Prince Maurice (one of Arabella's former suitors), and the Count Henry, who had better knowledge of him. Then the king said, 'Son, when I come into Germany, I will promise you not to importune you for any of your prisoners.' Since that time the Lord Grey hath been restrained and kept more strait, for having had conference with one of Lady Arbella's women, who, being strictly examined, was fain to confess that it was only matter of love and dalliance. The Lady Arbella is likewise re-

* Winwood, vol. iii. p. 454. State Papers, James I., Dom., vol. lxxii. p. 120 (April 29, 1613).

strained of late, though they say her brain continues still crackt, and the Countess of Shrewsbury more close than at any time before, and not without cause, as the voice goes."

The last specimen,* as far as we can tell, from Arabella's hand is now before us. It is torn in half, blotted with her tears, and the wildness and misery of her tone show too clearly the condition to which confinement and separation from all she loved best had reduced that once bright and courted lady.

"In all humility, in most humble wise, the most wretched and unfortunate creature that ever lived prostrates itself at the feet of the most merciful" (the irony of this must have made even James blush) "king that ever was, desiring nothing but mercy and favour, not being more afflicted for anything than for the loss of that which hath been this long time the only comfort it had in the world, and which, if it were to do again, I would not adventure the loss of any for any other worldly comfort. Mercy it is I desire, and that for God's sake. Let either

* Harl. MSS., 7003, fol. 146.

Freake or——” Here the paper is torn. Thus at last Arabella’s spirit was quite broken, and she even, for the first time, seems to regret her rash marriage.

The ever-faithful Crompton was now (1613) at liberty, and as soon as he was free he began to plan the rescue of his mistress. Little is known of the plot beyond a mention of it in one or two contemporary letters, and the history of the attempt must be left among the many obscure passages in Arabella’s life.

As early as November 20, 1613, the authorities had received warning of the conspiracy, for on that day Northampton * writes † to Somerset, that the place intended for the escape was to be under Mr. Ruthven’s study, but that the whole affair had been organized with so much mystery and art that nothing more was discoverable. He begs Somerset to take no one but the king into his confidence till the plot had been sounded to the bottom. The return of the “prisoner” had been commanded, and Lord

* The Lord Privy Seal.

† State Papers, James I., Dom., vol. lxxv. p. 27, MS.

Shrewsbury, though about to petition for longer leave, had, "upon better advertisement," resolved to send her back the next day. A petition was afterwards to be made for more liberty for her. On November 23 * the Lieutenant was sent to fetch her back. The "prisoner" was doubtless the countess, whose complicity in the plot was probably suspected.

It was not till the following year that we hear anything more of the matter, and then only the mere fact, written on July 7 from Chamberlayne † to Carleton, that a certain "Dr. Palmer, a divine, and Crompton, a gentleman usher, were committed to the Tower last week for some business about the Lady Arbella, who, they say, is far out of frame this midsummer moon." Again, in another contemporary letter, ‡ written in August of the same year, Reeves, Seymour's old servant, is mentioned as having been concerned with the other two in "some new complot for her escape and delivery."

* State Papers, James I., Dom., vol. lxxv. p. 23, MS. Northampton to Sir Thomas Lake.

† Ibid., vol. lxxvii. p. 58.

‡ Miss Cooper's "Life of Arabella Stuart," vol. ii. p. 241.

Thus once more, and for the last time, we see the working of the powerful charm which Arabella had always exercised over so many of those who were brought into personal contact with her, even now, when age, misfortune, and her so-called *madness* must have quite destroyed her good looks. Long ago it was suspected that a chaplain committed suicide on her account (see vol. i. p. 102); now her two former dependents, who had been with her in the worst of her troubles, and an unknown divine, risked their lives to do her service.

About this time, and probably from the effects of the disappointment, Arabella took to her bed, never to leave it again, refusing all remedies, and not allowing the doctors even to feel her pulse, till she became bedridden and ill only from her neglect of her health. There seems, indeed, to have been more method in her madness than later writers have imagined. Now she had played her last card, she determined to die, and without actually committing suicide she accomplished her desire. Vainly had "some person of gravity and learning" been sent (September, 1614) by

the Privy Council—hearing that “the Lady Arbella, prisoner in the Tower, is of late fallen into some indisposition of body and mind”—to give her “that comfort as is expedient for a Christian in cases of weakness and infirmity.” Vainly must the poor man have tried to carry out the directions of the Council, that he was “to give her such spiritual comfort and advice as” the Governor of the Tower should think expedient, and to visit her from time to time. It was too late to offer comfort; Arabella preferred to die, and, after a year of great bodily suffering, chiefly caused by her own obstinate refusal to get well, that “ill-fated and persecuted lady” passed away, September 25, 1615, at the age of forty years.

It is interesting to see, by a letter from Arabella's aunt Mary, that, in spite of their separation, and a captivity due partly to her own ambition, partly to over-zeal on her niece's behalf, for which she might have borne malice against her fellow-prisoner, the countess still cherished her early affection for her poor relative.

On December 8, 1615, she writes to the Countess of Cumberland, thanking her for her sympathy with her hard fortune in the heavy loss of the Lady Arabella. She hopes she "died a saint"—an expression which would not bear out the usual idea of Arabella's death-bed as that of a raving lunatic. Her danger was not known to her aunt till she was, in the opinion of all about her, to have died that night, but this was two days before her death, and the Countess of Shrewsbury says she was made to believe the next morning that her niece was much better, when in reality she must have been sinking fast. With much feeling Mary Talbot adds that her heart is so full of her loss that she can think of nothing else.*

Thomas Overbury had lately been murdered, and a cry of "Poison!" was raised when the news of Arabella's death reached the court, by the very friends who had allowed her to languish four years in her gloomy prison.

The day after her death, Sir Ralph Winwood,

* Report of Hist. MSS. Commission II. Append. vii. p. 83. From the MSS. of Lord Hothfield.

Secretary of State, directed * the President of the College of Physicians, and five members of the college, to go and see Arabella's corpse ; "according to former custom upon like occasions, when prisoners of great quality die in that place, her body should be viewed by persons of skill and trust, and thereupon certificate be made of what disease she died, as their judgment might appear."

The president was then required to appoint three physicians to meet Arabella's private doctor, Dr. Moundford, at 8 a.m. on September 28,† and hold a *post-mortem*. This was done, and the doctors reported that the cause of her death was a chronic and long sickness, increased by her own negligence and refusal of remedies, accelerated by lying in bed, and an "extreme leanness."

The body was embalmed,‡ and carried at dead

* Hist. MSS. Commission, 8th Report, and Appendix Part I. p. 228*b*.

† Evidently a mistake for September 27.

‡ By a certain Dr. Primrose, one of the king's surgeons, who received £6 13*s*. 4*d*. for the charges of the same (Part II. J, No. 3, p. 274).

of night to Westminster Abbey, where, without any ceremony save the hurried reading of the Burial Service, it was laid (September 27, 1615) to rest near the tomb of Arabella's Scotch grandmother, and in the vault of Mary Queen of Scots (south aisle, Chapel of Henry VII.). The Abbey registers tell us that the coffin was placed near that of her faithless friend and cousin, Henry, Prince of Wales, who had died in 1612, also amidst suspicions, which seem to have been equally unfounded, that his death had been hastened by poison, by his father's secret orders. Strangely enough, two of William Seymour's daughters by his second wife also lie in the Abbey.

In 1711 Crull, the author of a guide* to the Abbey, says he saw Arabella's coffin, "much shattered and broken, so that her skull and body may be seen," lying *under* the leaden coffin that contains Mary Stuart's remains. This is a mistake, the coffin being really, where it would naturally have been placed, upon Mary's.

It is evident that the funeral was purposely

* Edit. 1722, vol. i. p. 128.

conducted with secrecy, lest any inconvenient comments might be made on James's harsh treatment of his cousin. Charles the Fair, quoted by Camden, puts the affair in a nutshell: "Those who die in the king's prison," he says, "are not buried with pomp, lest it should be said that they had been unjustly thrown into prison."

Bishop Goodman, in his "*History of his Own Times*,"* treats Arabella's case in a very courtier-like way, defending the king much as Bacon had done, and entirely ignoring that the worst part of his conduct was the despair and misery which he inflicted on the poor lady by her forcible separation from her husband, and by his want of honour in breaking his plighted word. "What punishment did he [the king] inflict?" exclaims the bishop, in righteous indignation. "Surely a little imprisonment, no strict restraint, but with great freedom and liberty [he refers to the first imprisonment]; and hereunto you may add the king's great favour unto her before her marriage: a large allowance; she lived in the greatest respect

* Vol. i. p. 209.

and esteem at court ; the king preferred her followers ; her chaplain, Dr. Oates, was made Canon of Windsor upon her recommendations, with many other such like favours. Being in this *libera custodis*, which the king thought was fit for his honour, lest he should be slighted by others, she brake prison, and certainly it was her own voluntary act, without any trick of state ; she fled towards France, and it was a thousand to one but she had escaped, for it was only the turning of the wind which hindered it. Here, then, was a great offence against the law, and, be the crime what it will, yet the breaking of prison is punishable. If the king should hereupon intend to send her a prisoner to Scotland [Durham], yet this was only an intent, nothing was acted ; or if it had been put in execution, all the world knows the king was mutable, and soon pacified. But she dying before, the King would have her buried among her royal ancestors. It is true that to have a great funeral for one dying out of the king's favour would have reflected upon the king's honour, and therefore it was omitted."

With all his anxiety to whitewash his royal patron, the bishop does not make out a very good case, and he also confuses the details of Arabella's captivity. All he can do is to dwell on the supposition that James's intentions were more merciful than his deeds; but unfortunately, each man is judged according to his acts, and whatever excuses * may be made for the king *after* the unfortunate pair's attempt to escape, he had none before.

His fears, however, were not quite set at rest by his cousin's death. A rumour was now afloat that Arabella had borne a child to Seymour during her imprisonment at Barnet; but her faithful servant, Mrs. Bradshaw, who had been with her mistress before and ever since her marriage, and nursed her to the last, proved conclusively that the rumour had no foundation (January, 1516).

James was not yet quite satisfied; for Lady Shrewsbury was examined on the same subject,

* Mr. Spedding discusses the question in his life of Bacon, and decides it in James's favour. He considers the possibility of there being children born to Seymour and Arabella as a real danger to the throne.

and as late as June 26, 1618,* she was called up before the Star Chamber for "contempt of court," in not answering at her former examinations the inquiries about Lady Arabella's "pretended child." She pleaded a vow as her excuse for not replying, but declared her disbelief of the child ; and that is all we ever hear of the subject. No doubt it was a trumped-up story.

Meantime, in 1616, Lady Shrewsbury had been released from the Tower, and Sir R. Winwood boasts that he was the chief means of her delivery at the last. Mr. Craik (see "Romance of the Peerage," vol. ii. p. 385) quotes a curious statement, made by Robert Johnstone, the author of a Latin history of English affairs between the years 1573 and 1628 (published in 1655), in which† "he says that it was Lady Shrewsbury who, in revenge for the keen part that the Earls of Suffolk and Northampton (both Howards) had taken against her in the business of her niece at the Council Boards (*in*

* State Papers, James I., Dom., vol. xciv. p. 126, MS.

† Pages 470 and 506.

Scuatu), first set on foot the inquiry into the murder of Overbury by the Countess of Somerset (also a Howard), which in the result shook to its foundation and almost threw to the ground the house of Howard."

One more of the actors in the drama of Arabella's history' was destined to follow her out of life while her memory was still green. Her uncle Gilbert had been gradually succumbing to the agitations he had gone through during the imprisonment of his wife and niece, and Mary Talbot was only released from the Tower in time to be present at his deathbed (he died May 16, 1616).

We have now pieced together all the facts we can gather up concerning that persecuted lady, Arabella Stuart, who, destined by her birth to play a leading part in the history of England, and singled out more than once as worthy to be a queen, either of her own or of a foreign country, was yet doomed to die an obscure and lingering death, in striking contrast to the brilliant promise of her early years.

But since, though we have been able to throw

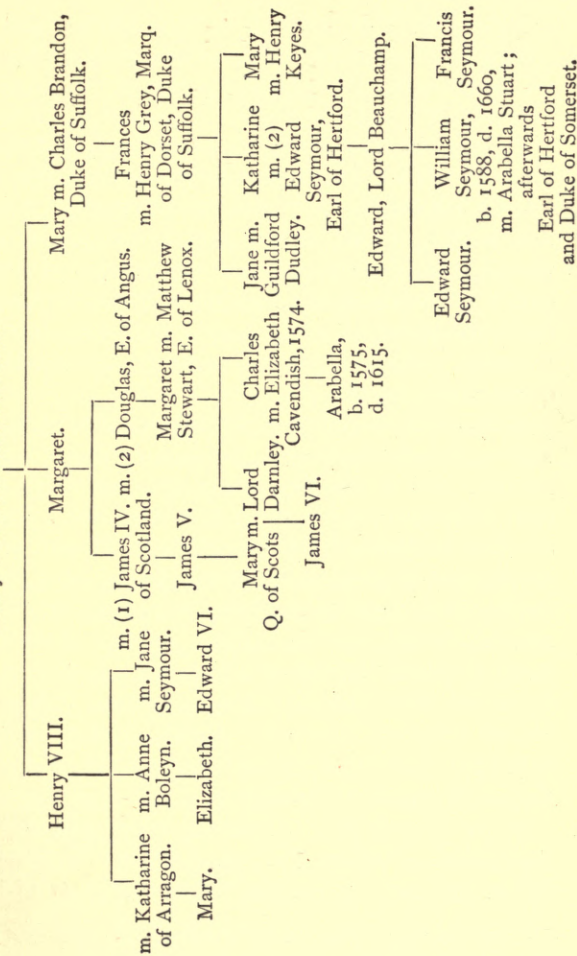
fresh light upon some passages in her history, much is yet wrapped in mystery, to be unravelled, perhaps, some future day by letters now hidden away in private collections, we have here confined ourselves strictly to the authentic facts furnished by State Papers, original manuscripts, and the researches of others in the same field. Now, without any additional conjecture or comment, let us leave a pure life and tragic fate, to stand for ever at the judgment-bar of history, as a silent witness against James Stuart and his servile ministers.

PART II.

LETTERS AND DOCUMENTS RELATING
TO LADY ARABELLA STUART.

GENEALOGY OF ARABELLA STUART AND WILLIAM SEYMOUR.

Henry VII. m. Elizabeth of York.



A.

PORTRAITS.

1. In 1866 Exhibition, No. 42, at South Kensington. In 1888-9 Stuart Exhibition, London, No. 65. "Small half-length figure of a child dressed in white, and holding a doll attired in full costume of the period, including stiff red coat and full-quilted petticoat." * The hair is fair, the eyes large and blue, gold chain and locket round the neck. Engraved in Miss Costello's "Eminent Englishwomen." Owner, Marquess of Hartington.

2. In 1857 Manchester Exhibition, No. 37. In 1888-9 Stuart Exhibition, No. 47. Whole-length, life-size. She is standing near a table, on which the right hand rests; a fan hangs from the waist. Dress of white brocade, puffed sleeves, studded with dark jewels, and having embroidered sleeves of a dark colour; her light-brown hair, frizzed in front, is allowed to fall, maiden fashion, on her shoulders. Pearl necklace and other ornaments. A little dog is at her feet. On a cartel is written, "Arbella Stuarta Comtissa Leoiniæ. Ætatis 13 et $\frac{1}{2}$. Anno Dñi 1589." Pointed out to Granger by H. Walpole, Owner, Marquess of Hartington.

3. In Manchester Exhibition, 1887, and Stuart Exhibition, 1888-9, No. 58. Similar to above. Below the cartel is written, "Granddaughter of Sir

* The Catalogue of the Stuart Exhibition has been used for the description of this and Nos. 2 and 3.

William and Elizabeth Hardwicke, by Elizabeth their second daughter, and her husband Charles Stuart, Earl of Lenox." In the original carved frame above it is the Cavendish crest, below the badge of the Garter. By F. Zuccherò. Engraved in Lodge's "Illustrations," etc. Owner, Duke of Portland.

4. In Exhibition of 1866. Whole-length figure. Owner, Duke of Northumberland.

5. Large half-length, taken much later than any of above. Face plain, hair dragged stiffly back. A thick rope of pearls, similar to one worn as a necklace in the prints of Arabella (see later) and in some of the portraits of her grandmother and aunt, the Countesses of Shrewsbury, so no doubt a family ornament, hangs across one shoulder to the waist. By Van Somers. Owner, Marquess of Bath.

MINIATURES BY THE OLIVERS.

(The numbers with "S. K." refer to the Catalogue of the Exhibitions of 1865-6 at South Kensington.)

1. S. K., No. 486. Grey-blue eyes and brown hair. A black dress studded with jewels, a fan, cambric ruff edged with deep lace. A jet necklace. Owner, the Hon. William Ashley.

2. S. K., No. 1580. Grey-blue eyes, with drooping lids, like those in the Countess of Lenox's miniature (see next page); fair reddish hair, dressed high in short curls. Black dress, covered with emeralds and sapphires, yellow brocaded pattern. Pearl necklace, with a long jewel of emeralds and sapphires, terminating in a pear-shaped pearl, attached to it; ear-

rings of a dark stone. In Stuart Exhibition for 1888-9. By I. Oliver. Owner, the Earl of Wharncliffe.

3 and 4. S. K., No. 2169. Two exactly alike (another similar to these was exhibited by the Duke of Hamilton, at the Archæological Institute in 1860); one of these, which was engraved in Miss Cooper's "Life of Arabella Stuart," was bought from Strawberry Hill. Both in Exhibition of 1889, Burlington Fine Arts Club. Grey-blue eyes; long fair curling hair. The dress open, as in most of these miniatures, according to the custom for young unmarried ladies; small ruff, no necklace, black silk watch-guard round the neck; hands shown only in one of the miniatures. Bracelets of pearl and emerald, a pearl earring in one ear, a black anchor in the other. By I. Oliver. Owner, G. Wingfield Digby.

5. Another, with open neck and brocaded dress, an ermine-lined mantle over one shoulder; the costume, even to the different earrings, similar to that in Nos. 3 and 4. The face is full, with fresh colour; the eyes dark grey; the hair fair, long, and curling. Exhibited at the Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1889. Owner, the Baroness Burdett-Coutts.

6. Very similar to Nos. 3 and 4. Blue eyes; rippled fair hair turned back, and flowing over her shoulders. White satin brocaded dress, a lace tucker in front, and small fan ruff at the back. A black silk watch-guard the only necklace, as in above; the earrings black anchors, studded with gold. The owner, in 1866, was Lord Aveland.

7. Long light-brown hair, grey-blue eyes, mouth

pursed up, resembling that of the Countess of Lenox in the Duke of Portland's miniature (No. 222, Stuart Exhibition). Pearl necklace and ornaments. In Stuart Exhibition, 1888-9, No. 717. I. Oliver. Owner, Stewart Dawson, Esq.

8. Grey-blue eyes, long frizzed mouse-coloured hair. Oval shape, with blue background. In Stuart Exhibition, case 900, No. 12. I. Oliver. Owner, Earl of Buccleugh.

9. Similar to No. 2, probably also by I. Oliver. The dress only is different—white instead of black, and the ornaments diamonds and rubies instead of pearls. Owner in 1866, Dudley Coutts Marjoribanks, Esq.

10. Different to any others by the Olivers. Fair hair, done up high and ornamented with jewels, age about 17 or 18, face round and smiling, grey-blue eyes; she wears a large ruff. Burlington Fine Arts Exhibition, 1889. I. Oliver. Owner, Major-General Sotheby.

11. Eyes dark-blue or grey; long mouse-coloured frizzed hair. This was taken to France by James II., and placed in the cabinet of Louis XV., but sent back to England under the Directory. Exhibited in Stuart Exhibition, No. 230. P. Oliver. Owner, the Dowager Lady Orde.

12. Similar to above, but brown eyes. Stuart Exhibition, No. 284. Owner, Henry H. Gibbs, Esq.

13. Very dark-brown eyes, long light-brown curling hair, round face, no colour. Dress resembles that in Nos. 3, 4, and 5. Burlington Fine Arts Club,

1889. P. Oliver. Shaftesbury and Addington Collections.

14. Another by P. Oliver was exhibited at South Kensington, No. 2564, then in the possession of Lady Sophia Desbœux.

MINIATURES BY N. HILLIARD.

Brown eyes, light-brown hair, drawn up high in a tower, and finished off with stiff little curls, crowned with a small coronet, very much like the portraits of Queen Elizabeth. She wears a white dress made in plaits and trimmed with gold chains, also a large ruff. This is probably the one painted to send to the Duke of Parma. Exhibited at South Kensington, No. 651. From Strawberry Hill, whence it passed into the possession of the late Hollingworth Magniac, Esq.

Another, very faded. Brown eyes, long curling light-brown hair. The Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1889. Owner, the Earl of Carlisle.

Another, No. 1009 in South Kensington Exhibition, then in the possession of Mr. Maskell.

MINIATURES BY J. HOSKINS.

Brown eyes, long rippling fair hair. Dress yellow-and-white plaid, stripes set with jewels and a lace tucker falling in front. S. K., 1481. Owner, Lord FitzHardinge.

S. K., 2063. Owner, Earl of Shaftesbury.

ANONYMOUS.

S. K., 1759. Long fair hair ; black-and-gold dress, pearl necklace and ornaments. Owner, R. G. Clarke, Esq.

S. K., 1700. Owner, Duke of Marlborough.

Stuart Exhibition, No. 283. Fair hair done up and hidden by the hat, and dark-brown or grey eyes. Large black hat ; a dog at her feet. Aged about seventeen or eighteen. Owner, Mrs. Hogge. (See Frontispiece, vol. i.)

The above list does not pretend to be a complete one, as so numerous are the miniatures of Arabella, and so scattered in private collections, it is impossible to say exactly how many exist. It will be noticed that none of these miniatures represent her after she was out of her teens, far the greater number having been painted between the ages of twelve and sixteen, when she was in favour with Elizabeth, and constant marriage projects were being made on her behalf.

In the copy of Pennant's "London" (Part ix. Nos. 182 and 183), in the Print-Room at the British Museum, are two prints of Arabella. One has the date 1619, and an inscription to "the most noble and learned lady." Beneath the other, which is evidently a later copy, a facsimile of her autograph from a Mr. John Thane's collection has been placed. "Sweet brother [Francis Seymour, in all probability], every one forsakes me but those that cannot helpe me, your most unfortunate sister, Arbella Seymaure." (This

is given by Mr. Inderwick, in "Side-Lights on the Stuarts.") In both these prints Arabella wears the ropes of pearls which are seen in Van Somer's picture, but were it not for this family ornament it would be reasonable to doubt the genuineness of the inscriptions, as the features are almost precisely similar to those in the picture of Anne of Denmark in the Stuart Exhibition, and also the date, 1619, was, of course, four years after Arabella's death. This vexed question must, however, be left to experts; it is enough here to point out the great difference between these prints and the authentic portraits of Arabella.

B.

THE MYSTERY OF 1602-3.

No. I.

Holograph. Cecil Papers, v. 135, f. 175.

(*Indorsed*, "The Confession* of the Preacher Starkey, that hanged himself.")

Before Feb. 2, 1603.

From whom those false rumours, which were spread the last year, of the right honourable lady, the Lady Arbella, did proceed, I could not imagine [*and can*] pro-

* This document and those that follow have never before been published *in extenso*. Words are often interpolated to make the sense clearer, but always between brackets, and in italics. The spelling has been modernized throughout the letters.

test but ill now. Which arose (as I suppose) by reason of a book with an unfit print upon the cover, which unadvisedly was given Lady Arbella by me, for which gross error committed by me, though unwittingly, to the impairing of her ladyship's fame and good name, I am so inwardly vexed that if I had a thousand lives I would willingly spend them all to redeem the least part of her reputation. Such is her virtuous disposition, and so excellent are those ornaments with which her honour's mind is adorned, as that they may be the rather admired than imitated. Most unfortunate, then, was I in committing such a fault, although I protest upon my salvation I never intended any such matter as from this might unjustly be gathered; the meanest reason I do think could only imagine that.

This is the cause that her honour in just reading hath been made an instrument, and [*my enemies*] gone about underhand to make the world believe that I was very desirous and forward to gain her removal from her lady grandmother; whereas the truth is that she, seeming to be, but not being indeed discontent, told me about Easter last that she thought of all the means she could to get from home, by reason she was hardly used (as she said) in spiteful and disgraceful words, being bold, and her most plagued withal, which she could not endure; and this seemed not feigned, for oftentimes, being at her book, she would break forth into tears. Whereupon I promised that, if it would please her to use my service, I would deliver her letters or messages while I stayed in town, and told her that I was resolved not to stay in the coun-

try any longer, and acquainted her ladyship with the cause, for that I was weary of the servitude and homage wherein I have lived more than ten years, having taught one of Mr. William Cavendish's sons six or seven years without any consideration for my gains, and being then enjoined to teach another his A B C ; and, besides, my living, which was given me, being indirectly detained from me by Mr. Cavendish, who had kept the same in his hands seven or eight years, whereas his faithful promise to me was that I should be restored to it in very short time. Whereas also the world may intend [*understand*] some great matter of the *geogra couleur de roi*, and of the silver escutcheon sent for a New Year's gift, the former was expressed by her own mouth, not set down in her note, but under the name of some slight colour, and the silver escutcheon was also expressly named in her letter. There was nothing [*promised*] me besides, nor anything else sent down by me (a few books only excepted), but I had a note under her hand for the same, which my lady said were either for herself or to give away, all which may show my innocency.

[*In the margin is written—*

My lady's promise emboldened me to gain her furtherance for my preferment, who also told me that if she were appointed to another place, she would entertain me as her chaplain ; what may be inferred I know not, but God knoweth my simplicity [*innocency*].]

Some also have been suspicious for the letters of my name, because I appointing the stationer long time

to set upon a Bible those three letters J. A. S. that two first letters * [*illegible*] from John, so mistook the those for the three letters apart; whereas (God is my witness) I intended nothing but my name. The pretended journey of Mr. Holford to Newark was to make men think that some of her ladyship's friends should aid her in making an escape; whereas I am persuaded there was no such matter, and if there had [*been*], her ladyship knoweth well that I supported her rather to endure her grief and discontent patiently, than by an inconvenient course to prejudice [*injure*] herself.

For my own part, I was busied about the recovery of my parsonage, as some civilians can testify who informed me that a pardon was obtainable, having incurred the danger of the law,† which [*the pardon*] also I laboured for, only to keep my living. My friends and kinsfolk I protest are blameless and without fault, being unacquainted with this matter. Henry Travier now of late told me that there was a book of tithes published by authority, that so by making inquiry for that I might be entrapped and brought into farther danger. The speed with which all these matters do arise is evident, and though I am able truly to clear myself, being altogether innocent of any [*design*] intended by me, yet by reason of some probable coincidence,

* These were the initials of Starkey's two first names, but the two last, being also Arabella's, were separated by the gossips, and interpreted as John Arabella Starkey or Stuart.

† It does not appear how Starkey had "incurred the danger of the law."

which by my enemies will be aggravated against me, I may easily be overthrown and suffer the greatest infamy, reproach, and shame that may be wherein such an [*indignity*] will be greater than many deaths.

He continues in the same strain, asks pardon of God, and of—

That honourable lady for so great an indignity unwittingly offered to her, and likewise of all her friends; of my dear mother, whose grief for this affair I fear will be her end, and generally of all the world for this enormity which I shall commit.

Bowing, therefore, the knee of my body with all sorrow and compunction, I do pour forth my soul unto Thee, O Lord, beseeching Thee to supply my soul with the oil of Thy grace, that I may be truly penitent for such faults as I have committed or duties that I have omitted.

He ends with a prayer to God to have mercy upon him, and to receive his “weary soul unto the ark of Thy holy tabernacles, that so I may receive the joys which are there unspeakable.” He writes at the beginning of the Confession, “This I thought good to testify to the world to the disregard of mine own innocence.”

Cecil Papers, v. 135, No. 178.

Some further notes in Starkey's handwriting, but unsigned and undated—

At my coming away the Lady Arbella told me she thought her grandmother would stay my book, and therefore advised me, if I had anything of worth, to lock it up, and she would be as careful of it as if it had been her own. . . . Besides, the Lady Arbella will not deny but that she said her lady grandmother and her uncle were glad when they could confess her ; that her grandmother threatened to take away her money and her jewels, but she had prevented her by sending them away into Yorkshire, and . . . sent the key of her coffer by me to search for a pearl of £20 which she doubted she had lost, but this was only a device ; and lastly she told me she had good friends, and more than all the world know of, but I forbear to set down greater matters which she in her conscience doth know are true, being sorry that such a one should be made an instrument of the bad practices of others, whose device was to turn me out of my living and to deprive me of my life, the Lord forgive them all. God grant the Queen's Majesty's most gracious and happy reign long to continue over this realm.

At the bottom—

My lady of her own motion returned to me £220, but wanted £1 in the payment, and since that time, by her appointment, I have disbursed £79 2s. 2d., as appeareth by a bill for which she is yet indebted ; but now they have taken from me, first liberty, then my living, my life, and my good, I trust you will be satisfied.

No. 2.

Cecil Papers, v. 135, f. 107.

Fragment of Arabella's directions to John Dodderidge.

Undated.

If they come to me themselves, they shall be shut out at the gates ; if locked up, my grandmother will be the first shall advertise and complain to the queen. If dismissed, they must fully prove themselves to be no sycophants to me. For the first, let them make some offer to sell land, and Mr. Hancock and Mr. Proctor are good patterns to follow, so that they shall have whom they will to tarry in the house, and be welcome for a longer time than shall need. I desire this may be some ancient grave man ; the younger may come as his son or nephew, and tarry or go away as we shall then think good. For the second, I protest your witness, either by word or writing, shall fully satisfy me. But it will be counted discretion in you, and confirm their good opinion of me, if you require them to bring all the testimonies they can, as some picture or handwriting of the Lady Jane Grey, whose hand I know, and she sent her sister a book at her death, which were the very best they could bring, or of the Lady Katharine, or Queen Jane Seymour, or any of that family, which we know they, and none but they, have. And let some of the company be of my uncle Henry's acquaintance, who yet must not come to the house because of my aunt Grace and his servants, but shall meet him at some

other place. Their care is no more but to come speedily and secretly to Mansfield, or some place near and after you, and such intelligence as you have in the house will provide for the rest. You know none can better advise than John Good,* whom I pray you acquaint with no more, but that it greatly concerns me, and he will, without any inquisitiveness, do his best, and perchance take them for northern rather than western men, and that were their best way both to him or anybody else. No mention of the E. of Hertford in any case, nor of that county; if they can, Cornish and Devonshire men, and generally out of all parts of England, referred to Sir John Biron's, therefore let them be wary, the shortness of time will help to keep counsel.

(*Indorsed*, "This is the note which my Lady Arbella writ and gave me for my instruction to deal in this business, in witness whereof I have put to my hand.—JOHN DODDERIDGE.")

No. 3.

TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

Holograph. *Ibid.*, v. 135, p. 146.

May it please your most excellent Majesty :

Sir Henry Brounker hath charged me with many things in your Majesty's [*name*], the most whereof I acknowledge to be true, and am heartily sorry that

* Dodderidge took the name of John Good, probably in order to confuse the authorities.

I have given your Majesty the least cause of offence. The particulars and the manner of handling I have, to avoid your Majesty's trouble, delivered to Sir H. Brounker. I humbly prostrate myself at your Majesty's feet, craving pardon for what is past, and of your princely clemency to signify your Majesty's most gracious remission to me by your Highness's letter to my lady my grandmother, whose discomfort I shall be till then. The Almighty increase and for ever continue your Majesty's divine virtues and prosperity, wherewith you blessed, bless us all.

Your Majesty's most humble and dutiful handmaid,

ARBELLA STUART.

Undated.

No. 4.

LADY ARBELLA TO THE QUEEN.

144. Holograph. Cecil Papers, v. 135.

I yield your Majesty most humble and dutiful thanks for your Highness's most gracious interpretation of this accident, most humbly craving the continuance of your Majesty's good opinion, which ever hath been my greatest comfort. And after this royal and singular testimony, [*that*] it pleaseth your Majesty, notwithstanding all presumptions of the contrary, to esteem me not unworthy of your princely care and love, [*which*] I shall never hereafter doubt of, and consequently not willingly yield to grief as I have done heretofore, and that very lately to almost my utter overthrow both of body and mind. But I see the

Lord's miraculous goodness shine in your Majesty, His best resembling image, and admire to see any so near imitate His infinite goodness, love, and wisdom to all His creatures, and make that the happy cause of my never-ending felicity, which, if your Majesty had censured according to the appearance, might have made me the most unhappy of all living, by continuing my exile out of your Majesty's presence, which hath been the only motive both of this and many other occurrences, which, as hitherto they have lien rather by me untold, than unknown to your Majesty, so I have with all sincerity signified unto your Majesty, by this worthy gentleman, your Majesty's most welcome messenger. And protest I have not reverted at all from the plain and direct truth, neither in one respect or other, as I shall answer it to the Almighty, when the thoughts of all hearts shall be revealed. And upon my allegiance to your Majesty, whose displeasure and not any punishment whatsoever is the only thing I fear, and the fear of God makes me most secure and confident that I shall not only avoid that, but for ever win or rather confirm that most evident and native affection which your Majesty hath even from my cradle showed unto me, above all other of your Highness's most royal lineage. I have not dealt rashly in so important a matter, but, taking the advice of all the friends I have how I might attain your Majesty's presence, and trying all the means I could possibly make or they devise and none succeeding, I resolved to crave my grandmother's leave to present my service [*and*] myself unto your

Majesty, and if I could not obtain that (for even that small and ordinary liberty I despaired to obtain of her, otherwise my most kind and natural parent), I determined that should be the first and, I protest, last disobedience that I would willingly offend her with. For though I have done very many things without her knowledge, yet I call the Judge of all hearts to witness they have been such as (if she had not been stricter than any child, how good, discreet, and dutiful soever, would willingly obey) she should have had more reason to wink at than to punish so severely as she hath done. And as I have forborne till now to impart this much unto your most excellent Majesty, lest it might diminish your Majesty's good opinion of me, and increase her severity; so I have all the other ways I could devise, not by way of complaint, but moan, disclosed my most distressed state to your Majesty, of whom only I have expected, and with silent and stolen tears implored relief. And have utterly neglected or rejected all other means, how well liked of others soever, and whatsoever I have pretended so may my soul find favour with the Almighty, and myself with your Majesty, as this hath been the principal end of all my desires, without which I can think no state happy, and with which all adversity will seem small in comparison. And if it please your Majesty to examine the whole course of my life, your Majesty shall find God's grace hath so mightily wrought in me, poor silly infant and wretch, that howsoever others have taken wiser ways, I have had as great care and have with more, and in

truth mere, innocence preserved your Majesty's most royal lineage from any blot, as any [*one*] whosoever. And as I should have adjudged myself unworthy of life if I had degenerated from the most renowned stock, whereof it is my greatest honour to be a branch, so, for truth and not ostentation's sake, I protest I have endeavoured to contribute my mite to the treasure of honour long heaped up by the most worthy, and without comparison of all Europe most worthy princes, whose great measure of worthiness, renown, and felicity your Majesty without comparison exceeds. And that you long and ever may do so is and at all times hath been my daily and fervent prayer to the Almighty, and ever shall be to my life's end.

[Unsigned.]

No. 5.

Enclosed by the old countess in a letter to the queen, February 2, 1603.

Holograph. Cecil Papers, v. 135, f. 139.

(*Indorsed*, "The Lady Arbella's first letter sent by her grandmother.")

TO THE DOWAGER COUNTESS OF SHREWSBURY.

Undated.

I acknowledge myself most bound to her Majesty for her gracious pardon of my offence, which appeareth more disgraceful in her Majesty's eyes, your ladyship's, and those two grave and honourable councillors by

whose letter it pleaseth her Majesty to reprove my offence, than it yet doth in the opinion of many others upon whose opinion I have laid the foundation of all the rest of my life. Pardon me, therefore, I beseech your ladyship, if, without those ceremonies which, either through ignorance or anxiety of a mind yet distracted between fear and hope [*I have omitted*], I set down the true reasons of this my proceeding. To employ any, much more such base and unworthy persons in such a matter, had been a blot to my reputation never to be washed away without floods of repentant tears, if my intent had not been to have it known to her Majesty that such a matter was propounded seriously, and by some desired, by others not misliked, but utterly neglected or rejected by myself from the first hour I heard of it till the last, and not more now than at first, for all my Lord of Hertford's discourteous dealing with me, who hath deserved better at his hands. And therefore, restraining my friends I respected, I sent such as I thought likeliest to displease his lordship, though I instructed them not to give his lordship instant cause of offence, and advertised no more than I was desirous they should divulge—so it were without my consent, for in truth I cannot find in my heart to disclose the counsel of any stranger or enemy, that either by their consent or chanceably cometh to my knowledge, if it may be, or I do but doubt it may be, prejudicial to them. And I thank God it fell out better than I and my dearest and best-trusted, whatsoever he be, could have devised or imagined, though we have beat our brains about it these three years.

The ridiculous and contemptuous style, I beseech you excuse with the reasons, which this gentleman who taught me alleged, before he could persuade me to play the fool in good earnest. It was convenient her Majesty should see and believe what busybodies, untrue rumour, unjust practices, colourable and cunning devices are in remote parts, against those * whom the world understood to be in a sort exiled her Majesty's presence undeservedly, though themselves be never so wary or unwilling any should so much as speak of them. And as herein your ladyship's wisdom and fidelity hath been at least comparable with my Lord of Hertford's, so I have many good witnesses, and more than for their own sakes I would I had had, that I have been as precise and circumspect in avoiding all occasions either of alluring or encouraging any to reveal their affection, how great soever, how respectfully soever, how well soever loved or liked by myself. And whosoever hath made trial what would either persuade the most virtuous lady, or the greatest lady, for by their commandment I must needs tell your ladyship they will needs say and swear I am the one of their knowledge, and they could wish me in the highest degree of her Majesty's favour, and put me in hope, if ever I may attain her Majesty's presence, I shall receive the like gracious countenance for all this that I have ever done. They, I say, who have made most trial what promises, oaths, vows, threatenings, unkindness, kindness, fair means and foul, neglect of others, withdrawing of comfort, counsel, hope, or

* Referring to herself.

redress of anything in the world could constrain or entice one of my sex, years, and hitherto unhappy fortune, can bear me witness that I am too stout [*proud*] to request a favour till I be sure I may command it. And they would take it [*the queen's forgiveness of Arabella*] as a favour done to them and not to me—of whom they crave not so much as thanks, I assure your ladyship, nor anything in the world but love—in such honourable and Christian sort as I were to be condemned by your ladyship specially, if for your ladyship's comfort and my own advancement I should still have rejected, or, like a deaf asp, stopped my ears against his* voice, who never requested anything but was more for my good and honour than his own. All the injuries he could he hath done me, and his credit being, as he right well deserves, great with her Majesty, and his friends, marry I impute even all my wrongs to him, and freely forgive them all who have been his (unwitting, I am sure) perchance unwilling instruments, and if they had known by whom [*unwitting*], to what end they were employed, as I think very few did if any—for secrecy is one of his virtues, and he hath as many as I believe any subject or foreign prince in Europe, or more. As the only request that ever I made to him (many other things I have in rude and uncivil manner *bid* him do, and he can take nothing ill at my hand but one, as he protesteth, and I am sure as one can be of any mortal creature that knoweth the nature of an oath, and

* See Arabella's examination (p. 124), in which she says she refers to the King of Scots.

esteemeth it the pawn of his soul) [*was*] that he would procure my remove from out of your ladyship's custody ; not that I would not think myself most happy to spend all my life under your ladyship's government, but that I cannot rule love and ambition in others, as I thank God I can do both very well in myself, and in truth am not infected at all with the latter, nor so apt to believe and suddenly to rejoice in so important a matter, as I was content it should seem to my Lord of Hertford of purpose and not of error I protest.

As I may compare the love of this worthy gentleman (which I have already unreservedly accepted and confirmed and will never deny, nor repent, whatsoever befall) to gold which hath been so often purified that I cannot find one fault to me, jealousy only excepted, so I have dealt unkindly, shrewedly, proudly with him, and if any living have cause to think me proud or "shrowd" [*shrewish*], it is he, whom I have loved too well (ever since I could love) to hide any word, thought, or deed of mine from him, unless it were to awe him a little when I thought his love converted into hate—for I did him the wrong to think so a great while—and to make him weary of his jealousy by letting him see it was the only way to make me fall out with him and anger him in the highest degree I could imagine. With my Lord of Hertford I have dealt so precisely that it hath neither been in his power to do me more hurt than reveal all he knew by me, nor should have cause or colour to take anything so kindly, and keep my counsel. When I writ I wept, and I marvel it was not perceived, for I could neither

forbear weeping at meal-times, nor in truth day or night till I had performed my promise, and set down in good and orderly sort some of the several devices and shifts which more than one had devised or practised without either my knowledge, till it was past, or allowance either for what was past or to come. And this party, who trusts me with more than I would have him, even the secretest thoughts of his heart, hath not nor ever had so much as a promise that I would keep his counsel. He taught me by the example of Samuel that one might plead one errand and deliver another with a safe conscience. By the example of Samson that one might and (if they be not too foolish to live in this world) must speak riddles to their friends, and try the truth of offered love and unsuspected friends in some matter wherein, if they dealt unfavourably, it shall but make their ridiculous malice appear to their own discredit and no manner of hurt to others. He assured me her Majesty's offence would be converted into laughter, when her Majesty should see the honest cunning of the contriver, to such an end as will be highly to her Majesty's liking, and to your ladyship's and my good many ways. He told me he would have me enter into some great action to win myself reputation, try her Majesty's love to me, though neither of us doubted of it, try what my friends would do for me, and how I could employ my friends and servants, and make strangers to me effect my desires without being beholden to them. And, building my hopes upon the rock, let the winds and billows and tempests show that though my build-

ing be low, yet it is not builded upon sand, for then I had been ruined, but like the wise architect who first draweth his plan, and after maketh an estimate of the charges, giving some allowance more than he thinks, and then, finding himself able to go through cheerfully, setteth his workmen to their several works, so we first did deliberately consult, and after speedily execute that which we knew for a short time would be offensive to her Majesty, your ladyship, the Earl of Hertford, and divers others, and work an effect which I am most assured will be most acceptable to her Majesty, and it is even the best service that ever lady did her sovereign and mistress.

I am more desirous her Majesty should understand every part and parcel of the devise, every actor, every action, every word and syllable of that her Majesty hath, under my hand or John Good's [*alias Dodderidge*], than your ladyship is, because I know more than your ladyship doth or shall (because it is most for your ladyship's honour and good it should be so) till her Majesty be acquainted and fully satisfied that I have done nothing foolishly, rashly, falsely, or unworthy of myself. Therefore I humbly thank her Majesty for that liberty it pleaseth her Highness to allow me, by the which I may confer with my friends, without which I could not discover the truth so soon and so well to her Majesty as I trust to do, if it please her Majesty to allow me the space of one month to clear myself in, and liberty to send to any Privy Councillor, I will be accountable to her Majesty, but not to your ladyship, for all that ever I did in my life, or ever will

do. And I will reveal some secrets of love concerning myself, and some others which will be delightful to her Majesty to understand. I will send some to complain of themselves. I will inform her Majesty of some matters whereof her Majesty hath yet no manner of suspicion. I will offend none but my uncle of Shrewsbury,* my aunt, and my uncle Charles, and them it will anger as much as ever they angered me, and make myself as merry at them as the last Lent they did at their own pleasant device, for so I take it, of the gentleman with the revenges. And if they will, as they might in duty, reconcile themselves to your ladyship, your ladyship shall command me to forget all injuries they have done me, one only excepted, and that is the wrongs they have done this most worthy gentleman, for whom I have already forsaken parents, kin, and all the world, her Majesty only excepted. For I vow, as I shall be saved, he tells me plainly he will not offend her Majesty for my sake, and will rather forsake me for ever than incur her Majesty's displeasure ; though the time be never so short. And therefore, though I have kept his counsel these many years, and will do whilst I live, if it may be the least hurtful to him and any of his (for I never acquainted any of mine one or other, I take God to witness), so I think it long till I may let her Majesty know his

* This is evidently to mislead her grandmother with the idea that she had quarrelled with the three relatives named, who were on bad terms with the countess. Arabella had just before this written to ask her aunt Mary to come to her, and in 1604 speaks of the earl's kindness to her in her trouble (see p. 201).

name, who so far exceedeth all the examples of her Highness's best-favoured [*courtiers*] that he dare not see nor but by stealth send to her he loves as well as ever they did any. And if it please her Majesty so to accept of him, I shall think myself most happy if her Majesty will grace him with her favour, and win his heart from me, if that be possible ; and I will daily pray for her Majesty and him, that he may daily deserve her Majesty's favour more and more, as I know he will endeavour, and if it please her Majesty to give me but liberty to send to him and hear from him (which in truth I must do, though it offend your ladyship, and can do, whosoever oversee us), I will show your ladyship every letter of his I shall hereafter receive, and be content your ladyship shall reveal all that to your ladyship's knowledge passeth betwixt us, not only to her Majesty, but to all the world. For I am so far from being ashamed of my choice, that even for my own honour's sake I could find in my heart to reveal him, but that in truth I dare not without his consent, and he dare not till he have his pardon for himself and his friends signified unto me by her Majesty's letter, which after I am to send to him and hear from him again, and then he shall either himself, by what means it pleaseth him, acquaint her Majesty with his fearful presumption ; or I will tell your ladyship, upon condition it may please your ladyship to join with me in begging her Majesty's gracious pardon to certain offenders, whose penance shall be to make confession first to her Majesty, and after to your ladyship, how gladly they would have offended your lady-

ship, and how far they have offended her Majesty for my sake.

And if they receive the sentence of death out of her Majesty's mouth, I dare answer for them they shall die content ; but I trust her Highness will with a smile deride their follies, and at one of their hands accept a poor present I am in hand with for her Majesty, [*and*] give another leave to deliver a letter or message to her sacred Majesty from me, her then fully absolved handmaid, and give us all leave to impart our joy of her Majesty's pardon to us all one to another, and devise the best manner how to represent to her Majesty the joy we conceive thereof. And make ourselves merry with making ourselves perfect in our parts, which for want of conference we have partly forgotten, and partly understand not, and her Majesty more merry if it please her Highness but to keep our counsel ; and I will instruct them and send them to her Majesty one after another, and none living shall understand my drift but her Majesty, the noble gentleman whose name I conceal, and whom it pleaseth them two to acquaint without limitation.

One only suit will I make to her Majesty, wherein I humbly crave your ladyship to assist and further me, that is, that it may please her Majesty to suspend her Highness's judgment of me till her Majesty see the end, which cannot be so soon as I could wish for ; I think every minute long, but [*it*] shall be hastened as much as may be, I assure your ladyship on my faith ; and surcease her displeasure to myself and all those with whom, for my sake I doubt not, her Highness is

offended ; and suffer none of them whose names her Majesty hath under my hand to come or send to me unless I send for them, and whosoever come to me at my request, or are sent for, either I will acquaint your ladyship, or send them up first, or cause them to advertise some Privy Councillor, what they do at my request and to what end.

I trust I have fully satisfied your ladyship that I am neither so disobedient nor inconsiderate as your ladyship might think me, and because I report many things which to your ladyship seem impossible, your ladyship next under her Majesty shall censure all my proceedings, when your ladyship by her Majesty's gracious letter or messenger unfoldeth these dark speeches, which, let others do as it please them, I will never reveal but to her Majesty ; neither will I presume to present my unworthy service to her Majesty till it shall please her Highness to commend it, for some reasons which I will with all speed advertise her Majesty, whom the Lord bless and prosper for ever every way.

ARBELLA STUART.

No. 6.

Holograph. Cecil Papers, v. 135, f. 147.

(*Indorsed*, "To the Right Honourable Sir John Stanhope, Knight, Vice-Chamberlain, and Sir Robert Cecil, Knight, Principal Secretary to her Majesty.")

Feb. 6, 1603.

May it please you, forasmuch as my lady my
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grandmother doth interpret the letter which, by her most excellent Majesty's commandment, her ladyship received from your honours concerning her Majesty's gracious acceptance of her ladyship's faithful discharging the trust reposed in her by her Highness; together with her Majesty's pardon of my offence, and interpretation of the original grounds thereof, and direction for my treatment hereafter, in other sense than I, to whom it was her Majesty's pleasure it should be imparted, do understand it. And, during that variety of opinions, her ladyship may suppose herself charged to look to me with more strictness than I assure myself it is her Majesty's pleasure I should be, as heretofore I have found, and with most dutiful thanks acknowledge. And on the other side, I, supposing the limits prescribed me larger than perhaps they are, may unwillingly transgress her Majesty's commandment, when I mean nothing less. It may please your honours, for avoiding all errors, both on the right hand and on the left, to expound your own meanings in these points which now come in question, or any other which hereafter may. Whether it be her Majesty's pleasure I shall have free choice of my own servants, to take, keep, and put away whom I think good, either telling or not telling the reason? And whether I may send for whom I think good, or talk with any that shall voluntarily or upon business come to me, in private if they or I shall so desire, without yielding account to any but her Majesty, if her Highness require it? And whether it be not her Majesty's pleasure I should as well have

the company of some young lady or gentleman for my recreation, and scholars? Music, hunting, hawking, variety of any lawful disport, I can procure or my friends will afford me, as well as the attendance of grave overseers, for which I think myself most bound to her Majesty, for it is the best way to avoid all jealousies. Whether if the running on of years be not discerned in me only, yet it be not her Highness's pleasure to allow me that liberty (being the 6th of this February twenty-seven years old), which many infants have to choose their own guardians, as I desire to do my place of abode? Finally, whether it pleaseth her Majesty I should be bound within straiter bonds than the duties of a most dutiful subject, and servant, to a most gracious sovereign and mistress, of an obedient child, [*or*] faithful friend, according to the laws of God and man in the strictest sort, without claiming at all to infringe or abuse Christian liberty? And then, if it please her Majesty to impose an extraordinary yoke of bondage upon me, I protest it will be more grievous to me because her Majesty imposeth it, than that I am not very well able, and enured to endure the heaviest crosses wherewith God maketh His [*chosen*] known. But my humble suit is, it may please her Majesty, for God's sake, to let me know the true causes whereof; because the misjudging of them may be very prejudicial to myself and others. And to set down the time—how long—and without ambiguity to prescribe me the rules, whereby it pleaseth her Majesty to try my obedience.

And forasmuch as by my lady my grandmother's commandment I did set down some things which it

seemed good to her ladyship to send to your honours, before I could either point or correct any error therein, great or little; in such slight sort as may only be a witness how merry secure innocence can be, even in the presence of a revered and yet unappeased parent; and rather give an inkling that there is yet some farther matter for which, if I durst or could tell how, I would humbly crave her Majesty's pardon, and her ladyship's, and the intercession of some for their worth gracious in her Majesty's eyes, than give only certain light of truth given. I humbly crave of your honours, to whose hands, by God's direction, the first fruits of my scribbled follies were presented, that you will vouchsafe to excuse the errors of youth altogether. And to the end her Majesty may, with that speed that I desire, be fully satisfied that this action had no corrupt beginning (which it is no small grief to me her Majesty should believe of any action of mine), it may please her Highness to hasten the conclusion by sending down some faithful servant of her Majesty's to see whether it will prove so fond [*foolish*] as your honours write, or so ridiculous as by my trifling manner of handling it yet seems; or so serious, and many ways acceptable to her Majesty as I dare (with the adventure of my life if it otherwise prove), assure her Majesty it will be. And as at the first I presented an humble suit to her Majesty's faithful servant, Sir H. Brounker, which her Highness, most gracious forediviner of the thoughts of my heart, before I craved it had granted; even at that time when her Majesty had reason to

think I full little deserved that or any other favour. So I humbly reiterate the same suit to your honours, that few may be acquainted with this matter till it be fully determined and judged by her Majesty, who yet may rather doubt a relapse, or greater faultiness, than hope of my innocence heretofore, or better government hereafter.

Therefore my most humble suit to her Majesty is (and I humbly crave your honours' effectual mediation therein) that it may please her Majesty once more to send down that worthy gentleman, Sir H. Brounker, who, partly (and but partly) understanding the matter already, will sooner conceive and consequently advertise the rest ; and will with fidelity deliver the names of the beloved parties, which, especially my dearest, I dare not trust paper withal, nor any living but whom it shall please her Majesty to choose. And bind him—with all the strictest commandments that may be, whereof any one were sufficient but that it concerns my soul, and almost all for whose sake I love my life more than for my own, and if the least hair of any one of their heads should perish, or her Majesty's displeasure continue for my sake, it would ever after be more discomfortable to me, than if I endured a great adversity for theirs—to deliver only to her Majesty whatsoever I shall deliver to him, without either omitting any part thereof, how displeasing soever to himself or any friend of his, or ever revealing it to any without my consent. And if I might receive her Majesty's promise, under two lines of her Highness's own hand, that it would please her Majesty to keep my counsel, I

should, with greater alacrity, deliver my mind in what sort it should please her Majesty to command; and think myself happier of those two lines than of a patent of greater value than ever prince granted under the Great Seal of England; and with as great confidence venture all I have to adventure, as others would do a small matter all manner of warranties. How much I shall think myself bound to them by whom I shall obtain this high favour or treasure—I know not what title worthy enough to give it—I hope your honours see by the inestimable rate wherewith I would buy it or beg it, and therefore I humbly beseech you make me for ever bound to you by becoming humble and importunate suitors to her Majesty in my behalf to grant me this, the greatest suit I ever made or will make to her Majesty. And it obtained, vouchsafe, I beseech you, with all speed to satisfy my expectation, who cannot but assuredly hope of good success, considering so just a suit is craved of so gracious a queen, by so worthy intercessors as your honours, to so good an end as her Majesty's service. And I beseech you let Sir H. Brounker be the happy and swift messenger. The Almighty protect and direct your honours and all your counsels and actions, and continue to prosper them as He doth, to His own glory, her Majesty's honour and safety, and consequently of the whole Commonwealth. Vouchsafe to remember her Majesty sometime I beseech you of

Her Majesty's most humble and dutiful handmaid,

ARBELLA STUART.

From Hardwick, the 6th of February.

(*Indorsed*, "The Lady Arbella to Mr. Cecil and me.")

No. 7.

From original Holograph. Ashmolean MSS., v. 1729, f. 82 ;
copy in Cecil Papers, v. 135, f. 170.

(*Indorsed*, "Lady Arbella to Mr. Edward Talbot.")

Feb. 16, 1603.

NOBLE GENTLEMAN,—I am as unjustly accused of contriving a comedy as you (on my conscience) a tragedy; councillors are acquainted with both our bad hands, but, whilst we may wash our hands in innocency, let the grand accuser and all his ministers do their worst, God will be on our side, and reveal the truth to our most gracious sovereign, maugre all wicked and indirect practices wherewith some seek to misinform her Majesty. But I thank the Almighty, it pleaseth her Highness to deal most graciously with me, and by her Majesty's commandment [*I*] have liberty to choose my friends by whom I may better inform her Majesty of some matters nearly concerning myself and divers of the very best friends you and I have. Therefore I request you most earnestly to deliver a message from me to her most sacred Majesty, which shall be greatly to her Majesty's contentment, your honour's behoof [*behalf*], and is of great importance. It requireth great haste, and I have advertised a most honourable Privy Councillor that I have sent for you to employ you in her Majesty's service, so that you may not excuse yourself, or lose time in your own respect, whom it concerns more ways than this. And of your own honourable dis-

position I doubt not but you would bestow a journey hither, and so to the court for my sake.

Your father's love, and your faithful friend,

ARBELLA STUART.

I pray you in kindest manner commend me to my Lady Ogle * and sweet Mrs. Talbot, whom I am very desirous to see ; and entreat her to hasten you hither, for the sooner you leave the better for us all.

No. 8.

Cecil Papers, v. 135, f. 147. Secretary's hand (autograph signature).

(*Indorsed*, "The Dowager Countess of Shrewsbury, to the Right Honourable Sir Robert Cecil, Knight, Principal Secretary to her Majesty.")

Feb. 21, 1602-3.

SIR,—I must beseech you to bear with my often troubling you. Since my late letter to you, Arbell hath been very sick with extreme pain of her side, which she never had before, so as I was in great fear of her. She hath had a doctor of physick with her for a fortnight together, and enforced to take much physick this unseasonable time, but finds little ease. I see her mind is the cause of all. She saith that if she might speak with Sir Henry Brouncker or some other sent from her Majesty, she should be well ; for that she hath a great desire to satisfy her Majesty in

* Wife of Charles Cavendish.

all matters, whose gracious favour and good opinion she desireth above all earthly things. Good Mr. Secretary, my most earnest suit is that it will please you to be a mean to her sacred Majesty for the speedy sending down of Sir Henry Brounker, or some other, to whom Arbell is desirous to declare sundry things which she saith she will utter to none but one sent from her Majesty. The Almighty ever prosper her Majesty with the continuance of his great blessing. And so, desiring you, good Mr. Secretary, to hold me excused for importuning you in this sort, I will take my leave, praying God to grant you all honour and happiness.

From Hardwick, this 21st of February, 1602-3.

Your most assured, loving friend,

E. SHREWSBURY.

P.S.—Arbell is so wilfully bent that she hath made a vow not to eat or drink in this house at Hardwick, or where I am, till she may hear from her Majesty, so that for preservation of her life I am enforced to suffer her to go to a house of mine, called Oldcotes, two miles from here. I am wearied of my life, and therefore humbly beseech her Majesty to have compassion on me. And I earnestly pray you to send Sir Henry Brounker hither.

No. 9.

Cecil Papers, v. 135, f. 151. Secretary's hand.

(*Indorsed*, "To the Countess of Shrewsbury, Dowager. From Mr. Vice-Chamberlain* and my master [*Cecil*]. By Sir H. Brounker.")

Feb. 21, 1603.

MADAME,—Her Majesty being pleased to send down this gentleman, Sir Henry Brounker, to whom she hath committed the trust and carriage of this business, which groweth from the last declaration which the Lady Arbella sent you, seconded with a letter of her own to us, bearing date the 6th of February (all which her Majesty hath seen and read), there remaineth little more for us to say than this which followeth. First her Majesty reiterateth her gracious acceptation of your sincere and careful dealing, wishing still that your usage of the lady may be accompanied with those circumstances which were expressed in our late joint letter unto you. For, although it appears by her last letters that some vain rumours do possess her mind, who, being young, is easily misled with false and flattering tongues, yet her Majesty would have you only to use her according to our last letter, except when you shall discover that her actions tend to any dishonourable practices, lest the world should think she were to be used as a prisoner. Considering that your ladyship keepeth a house so full of discreet servants, both men and

• women, and having also Mr. William Cavendish, who,

* Stanhope.

being her uncle and a wise gentleman, cannot but be an excellent companion for her, as well as an observer when any matter more than ordinary is travelling in her mind or put in practice. To whom as well as to your ladyship her Majesty hath commanded us to deliver thus much ; that—seeing by the young lady's letters it is almost impossible to make judgment whom or what she meaneth (so many contrarieties appearing), and therefore that it will be hard to resolve precisely what should be done, except we were upon the place—her Majesty requireth you and Mr. W. Cavendish both to give credit to this gentleman, Sir H. Brounker, and—when he shall have spoken with the young lady and find cause to advise of a course to be taken until her Majesty be advertised—that in such case, that she, or any other whom it may appertain, be conformable to his advice, being that which we have given him authority to signify, as he shall find fit for her Majesty's honour in such a case. And thus having delivered you as much as the present time requireth, we recommend your ladyship to God's protection.

From the court at Richmond, the 21st of February,
1602-3.

Your ladyship's very loving friends,
[Unsigned.]

No. 10.

Cecil Papers, *ibid.*, f. 155 ; copy of same slightly different, 156.

The Examination of the Lady Arbella, the 2nd of March, 1602-3.

Being demanded why she was distracted between fear and hope ; she answered that she feared her Majesty's displeasure, by reason of the letters she received from her ; and by her innocency she hoped to recover her Highness's favour.

Being examined by whom the practice with the Earl of Hertford was propounded, desired, and well liked of ; her ladyship said it was propounded by Mr. Owen, and (to her understanding) desired and well liked of by my Lord of Hertford.

Being demanded why she restrained her friends and employed such as were likeliest to offend the Earl of Hertford ; she said because she desired to bring it to light, and would not use those, that (being of credit) might have bound her by their act.

Being demanded who persuaded her to play the fool in earnest ; she said that that was but a poetical fiction.

Being demanded what these untrue rumours, unjust practices, and colourable devices were, and what is meant by the remote parts mentioned ; she answered that the rumours, etc., concerned the report of my Lord of Hertford's people in the country, and that she accounted the remote parts to be those which are far from the court.

Being demanded who the gentleman was that had

tried her by all means, and knew she was too stout to request a favour since she might command it; she said that she meant by that the King of Scots: *the word "command" was an error of the pen for "haste" * [these words added in Arabella's own hand]*.

Being demanded who it was against whose love she had long stopped her ears, though he never requested anything, but was more for her good and honour than his own; she said that it was the King of Scots, whose messenger, *Thomas Nelson [the name inserted in Arabella's hand]*, had been shut out of the gates, and yet was returned again in this time (when all the world had forsaken her) with a very kind message, and token to be delivered by Nelson from Roger Aston, but yet not sent for. This Nelson dwelleth at Elsor Hall, upon my Lady Arbella's land, and served some time the King of Scots last dead.

Being demanded what the gentleman was that was so worthily favoured by her Majesty, and had done her so much wrong, and wherein; she answered that it was the King of Scots, whom her Majesty favoured so much as for fear of offending him she might not be allowed the liberty of the law to sue, nor to send into Scotland to claim an earldom, or the recompense for them [*it*].

Being demanded who it was, that was so famous for his secrecy, and had more virtues than any subject or foreign prince; she plainly answered that it was the King of Scots.

Being demanded who it was that had done many

* Perhaps "have" is meant.

things at her commandment, and promised to procure her remove from the Countess of Shrewsbury's custody ; she answered that Nelson promised, in the King of Scots' name, to endeavour her remove by her Majesty's favour.

Being demanded who they were that were so unruly in their love and ambition ; [*no answer given ; Arabella probably refused from prudential motives, since she evidently referred to some about the queen, to answer this question*].

Being demanded what this gentleman was with whom she hath dealt so unkindly, shrewdly, and proudly, whom she hath tried as gold in the fire, and hath already accepted him, and confirmed it, and will neither repent nor deny him, whatsoever befall her ; she answered that it was the King of Scots, with whom, I appeal to Nelson, whether I have dealt proudly or no.

Being demanded who it was she had loved so well ever since she could love, as she could never hide any thought from him, unless it were to awe him a little, and to make him weary of his jealousy ; she said the King of Scots.

Being demanded what the noble gentleman was that taught her to prevent one errand and to deliver another with a safe confidence [*"coincidence" in the copy*], to speak riddles to her friends, and to try the truth of offered love ; she said that she learned those lessons out of the Bible, by the King of Scotland's example, who proveth all things by Scripture.

Being demanded who assured her that her Majesty's

offence would be turned into laughter, when she should see the honest coming of the contriver to such an end as will please her Majesty, and her grandmother, and be for her good many ways; she answered that she must confess that it was one of her sole conceits.

Being demanded who persuaded her to enter into some great action to win reputation to herself, to try her Majesty's love, to try her friends, and prove how she could make strangers effect her desires, and not be beholden to them; she said it was the desire of some in this country to see some of our own family (by a quite contrary example) recover the reputation which others had lost by not defending the weemen [?] whom themselves set on.

Being demanded what it was that the noble gentleman and she did first deliberately consult, and after speedily secrete, which they knew would for a short time offend her Majesty, the old lady, and the Earl of Hertford, but in the end will be a most acceptable service to her Majesty, and the best that ever lady did to her sovereign and mistress; she said that this great matter was John Good's* despatch, which, though recalled afterwards by myself, took effect, which I trust in the end will be acceptable to her Majesty.

Being demanded what it is which she so much desireth that her Majesty be persuaded was not done foolishly, rashly, falsely, or unworthy herself; † she said it was this practice of the Earl of Hertford, for which she perceiveth that her Majesty condemneth her.

* Dodderidge.

† See pp. 109, 110.

Being demanded what her meaning is by requiring a month's space to clear herself in ; she answered she desired that time to inform herself better of that practice, to the end her Majesty may be better persuaded of her.

Being demanded what those secrets of love are which she promiseth to reveal of herself and others, whom she will send to complain of themselves, and what the things are whereof she will inform her Majesty, having already no [*copy has "some"*] suspicion of them ; she answered that she cannot perform this promise till her friends have free access unto her again, which as yet they dare not take.

Being demanded wherein she can offend my Lord of Shrewsbury,* my lady, and her uncle Charles ; she said she could do that by discovering their dishonourable dealings towards herself many ways.

Being demanded what the injuries were which were offered to this worthy gentleman by the Earl of Shrewsbury, my lady, and Sir Charles, and what the gentleman was ; she said that the party was the King of Scots, and the wrongs are the contemptuous words and scorns which they often do utter against him for whom she hath forsaken all the world, her Majesty only excepted.

Being demanded who the gentleman is that would forsake her rather than offend her Majesty never so little ; she constantly affirmeth that it is the King of Scots.

* See p. 110, note. The Earl of Shrewsbury was not likely to have perilled his credit with James (see p. 201).

Being demanded whose counsel she hath kept these many years, and will do whilst she live, if the disclosing thereof will be hurtful to him or his, and what he is whose name she longeth to discover to her Majesty, and who dareth not see her nor send but by stealth ; she saith that it is the King of Scots.

Being demanded who it is that she desireth her Majesty to grace, and to win his heart from her ; she saith that it is the King of Scots.

Being demanded who it is that she desireth liberty to send to, and then she will be content that her grandmother shall see all his letters, and reveal them to all the world ; she saith it is the King of Scots.

Being demanded who that gentleman is by whose love she is so much honoured as she cannot be ashamed of her choice, nor would stick to reveal him if she durst without his consent ; she saith it is the King of Scots.

Being demanded whether the King of Scots dare not give his consent till he have pardon for himself and his friends ; she answered she thinks not.

Being demanded who those friends are who would be content to die for her Majesty's sake, after they have made confession to her Majesty how far they have offended her ; she saith that many are signified by one, meaning only her uncle Henry, who, she is persuaded, being commanded, would think his life best bestowed in her Majesty's service.

Being demanded whether she thought that her Highness would smile at these follies, and accept a present from her, standing in no better terms with

her; she saith that she shall never think herself fully pardoned, till it please her Majesty to accept a present from her.

Being demanded what those parts are, and who be the players that must impart their mutual joys, and make themselves merry with making themselves perfect in their parts, partly forgotten for lack of conference, and partly not understood; she answered that those are the innocents who have been abused in this practice by the Earl of Hertford, as she is.

Being demanded whom she will send to her Majesty, one after another, without acquainting any creature living but her Majesty, the noble gentleman, and whom it pleaseth them two to acquaint; she answereth that she cannot determine that till she speak with her friends.

Being demanded who that noble gentleman is; she said the King of Scots.

Being demanded what those dark speeches are which her Majesty by her letter or messenger must unfold before she will reveal them; she answereth all this above written.

(Signed in her own hand) ARBELLA STUART.

The above is taken from the transcript made in Sir H. Brounker's hand of Arabella's examination (No. 155), the answers evidently put down from her mouth, and one or two slight corrections or additions made by herself. *Indorsed*, "3rd March. Sir H. Brounker being sent to learn the particulars of the enquiry, the which is marked A [*Arabella ?*], brought this from her."

NO. II.

No. 142. Holograph. Cecil Papers, v. 135.

March 2, 1603.

I take Almighty God to witness, I am free from promise, contract, marriage, or intention to marry, and so mean to be whilst I live, and nothing whatsoever shall make me alter my long-settled determination, but the continuance of these disgraces and miseries, and the peril of the King of Scots his life, and if her Majesty continue her hard opinion of me, and I continue in my lady my grandmother's hands, then, whatsoever befall, I have determined of a course which, if it please her Majesty to like of, will be for her Majesty's honour, and best to my liking. But yet so far from my liking is it to marry at all, that I take God to witness I should think myself a great deal happier of the sentence of death, than of her Majesty's choice, or allowance of my choice, suppose I might (as I am far unworthy and am not so unwise as to think) have my choice of all Europe, and loved and liked them better than ever I did or shall do any. The reasons whereof I have delivered to Sir Henry Brounker. And take it upon my soul I do not dissemble at all herein, but speak from the bottom of my heart, as I shall answer it to God and her Majesty.

I presumed to draw Sir Henry Brounker hither to an allegory, which I have moralized to him, and howsoever it please her Majesty to interpret it, I protest I thought the matters I have declared worthy her

Majesty's knowledge, and durst not reveal them in plainer sort to any but her Majesty, or one whom it should please her Majesty so strictly to command. It may be my scrupulous fear made the matters seem greater to me than to the wiser, and therefore I may be thought presumptuous in that earnest begging so great a favour, but, I protest, I yet take them to be so important, that I shall think myself happier, if it please her Majesty to pardon, and pass them over in silence, than of anything whatsoever happened or could happen to me; and my life shall be uncomfortable to me whilst it lasteth, if either it be revealed to any but the unnamed party, till I see how it will please her Majesty to deal with me. And if it please her Majesty to consider that I am debarred her presence, nor suffered to confer with my friends, nor advertise her Majesty, without acquainting my lady my grandmother, which I neither have [*done*] nor dare do; and that I have reason to doubt all my actions shall receive the hardest interpretation, especially if I do not with speed and sincerity deliver them to her Majesty, sure of whose most gracious goodness, I with most dutiful thanks acknowledge all the favour I receive in this or any other matter. And that this is a matter which heretofore would have been offensive to her Majesty, and even the greatest and only matter wherein, for all the space of my life, I have offended her Majesty voluntarily, and that, being in my opinion forsaken of all the world, I have resolutely and with a settled determination grounded all my weak hopes and comfort upon this, I confess, doubtful foundation, but the

best I had left, now her Majesty's favour, which—might wishes and endeavours have prevailed—should have been my only rock and defence, was won and withheld from me. Which [*foundation*] shaken, despair may drive me for mere fear to misliked courses, and that I am resolved to end my life in tears and solitariness, or else to possess her Majesty's gracious opinion of my innocence and upright dealing as I have deserved, or else to do worse in my own opinion. And that experience had taught me there was no other way to draw down a messenger of such worth from her Majesty, but by incurring some suspicion, and having no ground whereon to work but this, and this being love.* And, being bound in duty and conscience to make all the means I could to defend myself from perishing, for, if her Majesty's favour be withdrawn, I contemn death, torment, or whatsoever can be inflicted upon the most grievous offender, I adventured, and—oh! if her Majesty do not more graciously conceive of it—have incurred her Highness's indignation.

But yet less grievous shall it be to me now than at any time of my life heretofore it hath been, because I could never accuse myself before of giving her Majesty the least colour of just offence, and I protest my conscience doth not accuse me of any fault herein, but a small, honest, necessary, and consequently most pardonable, presumption, for which I doubt not but to obtain pardon, in regard of the satisfaction and

* This remark, and her offers on the next page, bear out our supposition that Arabella was misleading the authorities when she pretends to have a love-affair.

expiation I offer to make therefore, which I know will be acceptable to her Majesty, and were sufficient penance for the greatest offence, as I take [*it*] is the smallest that ever was made. First, I will never trouble her Majesty with any suit hereafter, but forget my long-desired land, and confine myself to close prison, or as little liberty as it shall please her Majesty, in the severest rules of wisdom and policy, to allot me; and think it the highest favour I can possibly obtain, for I perceive daily more and more, to my increasing grief, I am and ever hereafter shall be more unfortunate than I lately thought I could possibly have been. Secondly, I will make a vow, if it shall please her Highness to command, upon condition I may reobtain her Majesty's favour, and have my dear and due liberty, I will never marry whilst I live, nor entertain thought, nor conceal any such or other matter whatsoever from her Majesty, which I shall think worthy for her Majesty to incline her princely ear unto. And if this be not sufficient reason to prove my dealing faultless, or at least pardonable, or this be not amends sufficient, I must confess myself void of sense, and careless of anything in this world can happen to me, for my cause cannot be made worse any manner of way. In her Majesty's hand it is to mend it, and make me think myself as happy as I can be (and will never be absolutely I perceive, such treacherous dealing have I found in this matter) and in God's [*time*] to end my sorrows with death, which only can make me absolutely and eternally happy.

(*Indorsed*, "Arbella's declaration, 2nd March;")

and in Arabella's own hand, "This she [her grandmother] also gave him"—probably Sir H. Brounker. The letter is very much blotted, as if tears had fallen as the lady wrote it.)

NO. 12.

Cecil Papers, v. 92, f. 1.

THE DOWAGER COUNTESS OF SHREWSBURY TO SIR J.
STANHOPE (VICE-CHAMBERLAIN) AND SIR R. CECIL.

March 3, 1603.

May it please you, Sir H. Brounker will make relation of all that hath passed here, which may ease you of reading and keep me from writing of a long discourse, of that which to my infinite grief I find. It is not unknown to you what earnest and importunate suit my unfortunate Arbell hath made for Sir H. Brounker's coming down. I was in hope she would have discovered somewhat worth his travel, but now she will neither name the party to whom she hath showed to be so affectionate, nor declare to Sir H. Brounker any matter of moment, spending the time in idle and impertinent discourses. And though Sir H. Brounker hath left nothing undone that might bring her to conformity, he could not in any sort prevail with her, though she put him in hope from time to time that she would name the party.

If it had lain as well in my power to have made all things plain as I had a desire to further Sir H. Brounker's service, it would have been less trouble to him, and he should not have departed with such

uncertainties. This is the fruit of them that have laboured to withdraw her natural affection from me, and to persuade her to all these vanities. They little respected her undoing so they might overthrow me with grief. Soon after Sir H. Brounker's departure hence, I look she will fall into some such extremity of making wilful vows [*i.e. refusing to eat or drink or to see her grandmother till she was removed from Hardwick*], as she did lately. She said before Sir H. Brounker that if she had not been suffered then to remove hence, she would have performed her vow, and the like I daily doubt she may do upon any toy she will take discontentment at. And therefore I most earnestly beseech you both to be a mean to her gracious Majesty for her speedy remove; it may be the change of place will work some alteration in her. Sir H. Brounker can testify how careful I am to keep her quiet till I may understand further her Majesty's pleasure. She most vainly hath prefixed a day to Sir H. Brounker for her remove. Both he and myself advised her not to stand on days or times. She is so wilfully bent, and there is so little reason in most of her doings, that I cannot tell what to make of it. A few more weeks as I have suffered of late will make an end of me. Notwithstanding, if it might be for her Majesty's service, I could be content to spend my life; but I have had over-great trial, now that she is brought to this extremity, that her remaining here is like to breed over-great inconveniences which will not lie in my power to prevent.

I beseech the Almighty for ever to prosper her

Highness, and to send you all honour and happiness
and myself quietness in my old days.

From Hardwick, this 3rd of March, 1602-3.

NO. 13.

ARABELLA TO BROUNKER.

Holograph. Cecil Papers, v. 135, f. 159; and copy, f. 160.

(*Indorsed*, "March 4, 1602-3. This was sent
after Sir H. Brounker had come," in the copy No. 160.
Neither the letter nor the copy to Lambeth is signed.)

SIR HENRY,—I cannot but wonder at your light
belief when great ones tell you incredible tales, and
incredulity when you have the word and oath of a
Puritan for a certain truth. If your commission be
not to examine such great ones as I presume to accuse
in matters of truth, alas! what a dwarf am I thought
at court! If your commission stretch not beyond the
Albian Cliffs and the Cheviot Hills, I would I were
with that most noble gentleman whom I constantly
affirm (but will not swear) to be the King of Scots,
and then we should agree in our tales, and make true
English, whereas now I think even you are doubtful
what will become of us. Truly I can tell, and I will
tell you truly, even as I told you, even as I would
have it. For if I do not, or rather have not since I
saw you, broken some of your good friends of their
will, I am greatly deceived. For whereas if the noble
gentleman you would needs suspect had been trans-
ported by some Archimedes * to Newstead, as miracu-

* See Plutarch's "Lives."

lously, especially to himself, as certain Romans (these Romans were full of unsuspicious magnanimity) were hoisted [*hoisted*] over the walls of the besieged Syracuse, and drawn by one poor scholar (who lightly are not the wisest nor strongest faction) through the town; which feat I think, unless you will believe for the author, my disgraced friend Plutarch's sake, you are like never to see executed by any architect, mathematician, or engineer living—I will not swear, but I tell you as I think. Now, suppose he should land at Bludworth Haven, and come attended with five hundred, as I think that is the smallest number he is answerable for, and that dare answer for his good behaviour even at this present time, I will not, no, I will be sworn (if you minister the oath) I will not, if I can choose, see him, nor speak to him I vow (for I can rule my tongue, howsoever I be overruled otherwise) till he have been at court, and upon his oath and allegiance—and, but that you courtiers are wonderfully hard-hearted and slow of belief, his word might be sufficient in a greater matter—[*declared*] that he never had such a thought as you—God forgive you—would impute unto him, so highly to offend her Majesty for an imaginary device of them who would shroud their own practice under his honoured name. This is but the device, I say, of some great ones who would make you believe miracles (for if you do not they are half undone), or else of my little, little love, that you knew not how to understand, though I think you meditated on my last words all night till you called me to a rehearsal in the morning,

and I thought [*it*] scarce worth the little, little labour of reiterating to your ears, stopped with the enchantments of deluders in such a crooked dump (for there is *altum silentium* betwixt us) that I would not be entreated and could not be constrained to speak one word more than was very necessary till this morning. And now, because I am accountable for idle words, which is much, and idle conceits, which is more, and cannot entreat you to stay so long as to satisfy your own eyes and ears with the visible truth which is most unkindly done of you, I pray you understand that after my cousin M. and I had spent a little breath in evaporating certain court smoke, which, converted into sighs, made some eyes besides ours run a-water, we walked in the great chamber, for fear of wearing the mats in the gallery (reserved for you courtiers), as sullenly as if our hearts had been too great [*full*] to give one another a good word, and so to dinner. After dinner I went in reverent sort to crave my lady my grandmother's blessing. Which done, her ladyship proved me a true prophet, and you either a deceived or deceiving courtier; for after I had, with the armour of patience, borne of (*sic*) a volley of most bitter and injurious words, at last, wounded to the heart with false epithets, and an unlooked-for word, only defending myself with a negative (which was all the words I said, but not that I could have said in my defence), I made a retreat to my chamber, which I hoped by your charter* should have been a sanctuary, you came

* Brunker had no doubt given Elizabeth's message that Arabella should be left free.

with authority, as you said, and I saw it under two hands [*Cecil's and Stanhope's signatures* that might have made any but me believe your word should have gone as current as the word of a prince, or the Great Seal of England—by which I might have recovered a little land which a most noble great-great uncle * of mine gave his niece when he bestowed her of [*on*] a noble exiled gentleman—but I knew by what was past what would be, and provided thereafter. I stand greatly upon my reputation, and therefore, resolutely leaving my weary standing, went away (but did not run away, nor ever meant it, I assure you) a good sober pace, and though my ears were battered on one side with a contemned, and in truth contemptible storm of threatenings, with which my lady my grandmother thought to have won my resolved heart (as my little love hath done), and on the other [*side*] summoned to a parley with my uncle William, I, rather doubting to come to the loss by being undermined (for the West and Derbyshire and Wales are full of rich mines, and consequently passing cunning miners, else why should courtiers take the pains to oversee them? and the office of the Stannaries † is both honourable and profitable) than that, deaf asp as I am, I feared to be won to my loss to a dishonourable composition, for I stand upon points of honour, went

* Henry VIII. to Margaret Douglas.

† Stannaries—Tin mines. The Stannaries of Cornwall and Devon are incorporated in the royal Duchy of Cornwall, and are under one Duchy officer, called the Lord Warden of the Stannaries, with a Vice-Warden for each county.

my way without so much as looking behind me (for fear of Eurydice's relapse). And, vowing I would never answer to those names by which I was called and recalled and cried out upon (for if I should my love might be ashamed of me, as now he may well be of himself), I took my way down with a heavy heart, and, being followed by them, it might better have become us both I should have followed, I was fain to set a good face on bad fortune, and there we had another skirmish, where you and I sat scribbling till twelve of the clock at night. But I, finding myself scarce able to stand on my feet, what for my side and what for my head, yet with a commanding voice, called a troop of such viragoes,* as Virgil's Camilla [*did*], that stood at the receipt in the next chamber, and, never entreating them to give or take blows for my sake, was content to send you the first news of this conflict.

But though he were my own man I sent for, yet he being not so forward as certain voluntaries you know to go on my errand, I set me down in patience and fell a-scribbling, my lady my grandmother and my uncle little knew what or to whom, though they looked on, till, having written what I thought good, whilst they talked what they thought good, I was not only content to let them know it was to you, but to read it to them; and immediately leaving the disadvantageous chamber, where nobody could hear me or durst come at me, I went down a little lower, not pressed down with one abject thought of yielding, but because I thought there to have found some of my

* Her waiting-women.

regiment. And so I did, for there was Key talking with a gentlewoman (what they said I never examined), and there I made a stand, bethinking myself whom to send, because they receive such rude entertainment that it were enough to make me destitute of messengers, if it stood upon the loss of my life to send to my love. But, raising my spirits with the assured fair words of certain hopeful young men, who do just as I did therein without other reason or warrant than my pleasure and service, I went up to the great chamber, and there I found a troop of, for my sake, malcontents, taking the advantage of the fire to warm them by, till the sun shining on our world with hotter and further distant beams make it needless; and amongst them one that I little thought had been there: who was that, Sir Henry? My sudden apparition coming alone through the hall, and coming in at that door where they least looked I should, made a sudden alteration and wonderment amongst them, for they that stood shrunk back as if they had been afraid of me, and certain auxiliaries (which I both left and found walking round with their shrinking fellows), and with a general putting off of hats, to the end I should not doubt they would stop their ears against me, perchance expected I should have yielded them a reason of my going out at one door and coming in at another. But I without ceremony, directing my speech to the unnamed young man,* who stood with his hat in his hand and my glove in his hat, said, as this bearer can witness, and so for brevity's sake

* Probably Chaworth (see later).

leaving that to this bearer's report, my undaunted and most trusty servant. What happened after were tedious to write, for you care not what becomes of me, nor I neither greatly ; for I am resolved, and knowing my own invincible power of uncorruptible assistance (even the best of Heaven, lest you should think I have changed my mind since I told you there was no trust in man), stand upon my guard, and, setting my heart at rest and a watch before my lips, have fortified my weak body as well as I can ; and getting all the munition of comfort and patience that the country will afford me or my little circuit is capable of, resolve rather to endure a ten years' siege, and even lose my Hector, than you shall get my love into your danger that deal thus with me. Are you not ashamed to see your word thus broken before you be at your lodging ? Truly by your letter methinks not, for it seems you are no sooner gone hence but you forget and mistake all you hear or see concerning me. But the noble George, Earl of Shrewsbury, presuming on his godson's word to him that he would not suffer his word to be broken, though he had no commission to promise a rebel pardon, yet, as you did, assured a sometime noble gentleman and, till he was a traitor, friend of his, to put his life in his hands, and he did so, and as it proved with him so may it prove with my love ; for he is at your discretion, and not mine, if he have deserved it as I trow not, but I will not swear for him, but for myself I will——

Here the letter breaks off, with no signature, ending, or date.

No. 14.

Holograph. Cecil Papers, *ibid.*, f. 164.

(*Indorsed*, "March 4, 1602-3. Lady Arbella to Sir Henry Brounker.")

March 4, 1603.

SIR HENRY,—This gentleman, Mr. Chaworth can witness my many, great, and increased wrongs which, if you will not believe, I cannot help ; if you do, and help not to redress to your power, I think you do not discharge the charge imposed on you by her Majesty to see my treatment according to my condition and desert, nor the trust I have reposed in your sincerity and fair promises. Unregarded menaces I assure you shall neither daunt me, nor the worst that any mortal creature can do unto another shall not extort a thought out of my mouth. Fairer means might have laden you home with that treasure you came for without a quittance ; but now I have no more to say to you, but I will say no more, think, say, or do what you list.

Hardwick, this Friday.

ARBELLA STUART.

P.S.—I deal better with you than you with me, for I do not torture you with expectation, nor promise better than I will perform. *Damnata jam luce ferore.*

Outside is written, "This was sent after Sir Henry Brounker came." Addressed to "Sir H. Brounker, Lambeth Marsh."

No. 15.

Same to the same, also Lambeth Marsh.

Holograph. Ibid., f. 165.

March 6, 1603.

SIR HENRY,—This day of rest doth not privilege my travelling mind from employing my restless pen in performing part of my promise in sending up certain innocents to play their parts like Adam's regenerate children. If it please you to examine this long since offered and newly entertained servant of mine, what matters of profit and love his young years have been crossed in, and he make as good a rehearsal as he did loverlike and gentlemanlike partly deliver, partly forget, and partly excuse his first employment hither, it will neither be impertinent nor unpleasant for you to hear. His errand to you is no more at this time but to know if you will admit him for an actor; his part is in penning, and if it please you to let me know anything concerning myself, it shall be welcome whatsoever [*it is*] coming from you. You shall shortly have a resident within few miles of you, by whom you may satisfy your inquisitiveness and still new springing cavils.* In the mean time, Almighty God be with you, most worthy knight.

Hardwick, this Sunday.

Your poor friend,

ARBELLA STUART.

* Frivolous objections, sophisms.

No. 16.

Same to the same, at Lambeth Marsh.

Holograph. Ibid., f. 166.

March 7, 1603.

SIR HENRY,—I sent my page this afternoon into my quondam study chamber, which he might not be suffered to enter, much less I to receive the comfort and good counsel of my dead counsellors and comforters. If you think to make me weary of my life and to conclude it according to Mr. Starkey's tragical example, you are deceived; if you mean to shorten the time for your friends' sake, you are deceived in that too, for such means prevail not with me. If you think it her Majesty's pleasure her commandment should either be unjustly pretended or covertly and cunningly infringed, I hope it is not her Majesty's meaning nor your delusive dealing, and sure I am it is neither for her Majesty's honour nor your credit I should be thus dealt withal. Your will be done. I recommend my innocent cause and wrongfully wronged and wronging friend to your consideration and God's holy protection, to whom only be ascribed all honour, praise, and glory for now and for ever, Amen. For all men are liars. There is no trust in man, whose breath is in his nostrils. And the day will come when they that judge shall be judged, and He that now keepeth their counsel and seemeth to wink at iniquity, and suffer it to prosper like the green bay tree, will root out deep-rooted pride and malice, and make his righteousness shine like the

noonday. I was half a Puritan before, and Mr. Holford, who is one whatsoever I be, hath shortened your letter, and will shorten the time more than you all, as he hath already driven me [*from*] my lady my grandmother's presence with laughter, which, upon just cause, you owe me good witness I cannot forbear.

Farewell, good knight.

Your poor friend,

ARBELLA STUART.

Monday.

NO. 17.

LADY ARBELLA TO SIR HENRY BROUNKER.

Holograph Cecil Papers, v. 135, f. 130.

Probably March 9, 1603.

SIR,—As [*when*] you were a private person I found all humanity and courtesy from you, and whilst I live will thankfully acknowledge it, and with all humility and duty yield her Majesty more due thanks for first choosing and after, upon my humble suit, re-employing you, than for any or all the favours I have received from her Majesty since my birth to this day, and if they were all set together it far exceedeth them all.

But your commission was, as it seemed, so strangely strait that it was not possible her Majesty's expectations should be better satisfied, which, as I know it proceeded not of her Majesty's gracious disposition, so was it not altogether 'long of me but others I dealt as I did, and you perceived some truths which

I confessed not, as you promised some favours I found not. When it shall please her Majesty to afford me those ordinary rights which other subjects cannot be debarred of justly, I shall endeavour to receive them as thankfully now as if they had been in due time offered ; though the best part of my time be past, wherein (my heart being not so seasoned with sorrow as it is) comfort should have been welcome, and better bestowed because my heart was not then overworn with just unkindness [*resentment*] and sorrow, hath been capable of joy, and thankfully glad of every small kindness or favour. They are dead whom I loved ; they have forsaken me in whom I trusted ; I am dangerous to my guiltless friends ; in all respects, if it were not because they are my friends, as worthy her Highness's favourable countenance, as their unjustly, to my disgrace and their hurt, favoured enemies. So that I must conclude, as a private person, I would trust you as soon as any gentleman I know, upon so small acquaintance ; but while her Majesty referreth the managing of every matter to those two councillors,* her Majesty shall be abused. For I am able to prove her Majesty is highly abused in this matter, and I dare say no more than I have, and will rather lose my life than utter one word more than I have done. Nay, I will rather dishonour myself so much [*as*] to deny what I have affirmed, than commit my cause to their partial examination and relation.

You delivered me at your first coming a most gracious message, wherein I apparently discerned the long

* Sir William Cecil and Sir John Stanhope.

diswonted beams of her Majesty's gracious inclination to me. I sincerely delivered the truth, and was rewarded with a most hard censure, and frustration of my most earnest and reasonable suits that I might attend on her Majesty, or be from my grandmother at least. But my wooden yoke was made of iron, and I can bear it as long as I think good to convince them that impose it of hardness of heart ; and shake it off when I think good to take my Christian liberty, which either shall be apparently [*openly*] denied me, and the whole world [*told*] upon what cause or colour or how justly given or taken, and by whom ; or must be prevented by a reflux of her Majesty's favour to me in greater measure than I have hitherto found. Which [*favour*] I do not doubt of, if it would please her Majesty to take that course which her royal inclination would take to those of her own blood, if it were not, to my great astonishment, diverted from them to these two councillors' kindred. They favour their kindred against her Majesty's ; her Majesty defendeth not her innocent, unstained blood against their malice. Doth her Majesty favour the Lady Katharine's husband * more than the Earl of Essex's friend ? Are the Stanhopes and Cecils able to hinder or diminish the good reputation of a Stuart, her Majesty being judge ? Have I stained her Majesty's blood by unworthy or doubtful marriage ? Have I claimed my land these eleven years, though I had her Majesty's promise I should have it ? And hath my Lord of Hertford regarded her Majesty's express command-

* The Earl of Hertford.

ment, and threatened and felt indignation so much? Have I forbore so long to send to the King of Scots to expostulate his unkindness, and declare my mind to him in many matters, and have no more thanks for my labour? Doth it please her Majesty to command me by her letter, in Mr. Secretary's hand, to my grandmother, to be suddenly examined for avoiding excuses, and will it not please her, by a letter of her own hand, to command that which her Majesty cannot command as my sovereign, but as my most honoured, loved, and trusted kinswoman? Shall I many weeks expect what I most earnestly begged and longed for; and must I reveal the secrets of my heart, importing my soul, my life, all I hold dear in this world, in a shorter time than at your now first coming I told you I could, when it seems her Majesty careth not for knowing anything concerning me but to break my just desires? Shall Mr. Holford be sent for by commission, and I not [*have*] commission to send for whom I will, and I not protest I have hard measure? Who can grant out the commission which can even in good nature, good manners, or equity require such a confession? Have I concealed this matter thus long from friends, servants, kinsfolk—all the world—to reveal it now?

John Good* was so extremely, cunningly, and partially handled, and I so injuriously entreated, that they, who have either occasioned, executed, furthered, or suffered such rigour to light on me and so long to continue, may thank themselves if they have lost all

* Dodderidge.

the interest of voluntary obedience they had in me. Do you think, I say, that I will reveal that to my servants or friends now, which shall be prejudicial for them to be suspected to guess at, much more to know, much more to conceal? I can assure you all that are of my counsel are out of all possibility of danger, and out of your reach. Neither doth her Majesty's commandment prevail so far, though her fame and entreaty be everywhere glorious and powerful. And for myself, I will rather spit my tongue in my examiner or torturer's face, than it shall be said, to the dishonour of her Majesty's abused authority and blood, an extorted truth came out of my lips. It would have been an eternal honour to her Majesty that she, whom neither the Privy Signet nor the Great Seal of England had availed in great matters and ordinary courses, durst trust the two first lines of her sovereign's hand (after such a retrograde course as hath been held against me these many years) with that infinitely dear adventure. If her Majesty hath regarded my contentment, or most bitter tears of discontent heretofore, I may hope her Highness may do so hereafter. And so her Highness hath, when a noble and unentreated mediator,* who now holdeth his peace, hath delivered his opinion of my treatment. But I am grown a woman, and therefore, by her Majesty's own saying, am not allowed the liberty of granting lawful favours to princely suitors. How, then, dare subjects justify

* She probably refers to Lord Burghley, who did his best for her rights as regarded her Scotch heritage, and was also very kind to her as a child.

their most justifiable affection? It is a sufficient reason for a counsellor or judge, in excuse of staying and crossing the due course of law in suits of great importance, that the wronged gentleman is my dearest friend, and I take God to record I have deserved a great deal more friendship of him than I find. How dare others visit me in my distress, when the Earl of Essex, then in highest favour, durst scarcely steal a salutation in the privy chamber, where, howsoever it pleased her Majesty I should be disgraced in the presence at Greenwich, and discouraged in the lobby at Whitehall, it pleased her Majesty to give me leave to gaze on her, and by trial pronounce me an eaglet of her own kind, worthy even yet (but for my [*obliterated*]) to carry her thunderbolt, and prostrate myself at her feet (the Earl of Essex's fatal, ill-sought, unobtained desire) as any Hebe, whose disgraces may be blushingly concealed but not unseen, or Ganymede, though he may minister nectar in more acceptable manner? But whither do my thoughts transport me now? Let me live like an owl in the wilderness, since my Pallas will not protect me with her shield.

You saw what a despair the greatness of my enemies and the hard measure I have received (and my fortune is not yet bettered) drove innocent, discreet, learned, and godly Mr. Starkey into: will you be guilty of more blood? You saw what misconceits you bred in him after twelve years' experience of me in such sort that he did not believe my true grief, whereof he was an eye-witness, and suspected me of a monstrous fault, which by his own testimony he had no reason for,

but what somebody told him some untruth of me. And shall I not think the examined and wrong incensed nobility * will not impute their wrongs to me, who am so unjustly under two councillors' hands, by her Majesty's silent assent, instituted the author of this action? For the passion of God let me come to my trial in this my prison instantly, and I doubt not but my messenger pathetically declared my woeful plight, which others, without entreaty or commission, offered and will redress, and yet they know but a small part of what you know, and yet enough for me, I thank God, and no more than a hundred more do, who are like to corrupt (if that be corruption) some that yet were never corrupted, to some of my idle conceits. Therefore lay the axe to the root of the tree in time, and let me lose my head, which for less cause and upon no ground but my friends' faults, her Majesty hath threatened to take, as I told you, whilst nobody will hinder it, and [*which penalty*] I shall joyfully and thankfully receive as God receive my soul. And [*I*] long to hear you have made that most earnest and humble suit of mine, but it must be in your own name, for else it will not be granted; and if my Lord of Hertford will lend his helping hand, and the two councillors (for his sake, or what other private or public respect soever makes them deal thus sinisterly with me, who would presume to have and take the upper hand of the best of them, but for her Majesty's known pleasure of derogating from my due many ways), [*wish*] to write their bloody pleasure in her Majesty's name,

* The Earl of Hertford.

my messenger shall diligently attend, or I doubt not but they may find enough ready enough to go of their errand, specially to such an end. Her Majesty I know would be highly offended to have such a matter effected without her Highness's liking; but what will not or cannot one of them do, and gild over with some colourable rule of policy, or of love and duty in far more respectful sort than it is performed by them, who cannot keep their own counsel, how would they mine if they knew it? I know her Majesty would be highly offended at them, and conceive a more gracious opinion of me, when I have declared and compared some of their dealing and some of mine, which I will prepare to send to you by Mr. Chaworth, when he is able to fetch them; and what dealing I am like to receive from you I shall judge by that he bring me from you, whatsoever it be. Let it not be ambiguous, and it shall be unfeignedly welcome coming from you, fully as much as it deserves. You will needs deceive yourself contrary to your own knowledge: why do you think I will not grant that in your absence which you could not obtain whilst you were here? Admit I had been in love, and would have declared his name, I assure you on my faith I would have delivered it you in writing, and by my good will have seen you no more after till I had been out of fear of blushing, which, though I did not, as I think, while you were here, I should have done, or at least did, within few days after you were gone. But here was some cause, though very little, but it was true, and no supposition or false accusation, which wrought that, with me,

unusual effect ; which I am lother to be accused of, though it be but a very fallible conjecture even with me, than by the false tongues of as many as list to conspire with my enemies in uttering, soothing,* [or] augmenting their authorized lies.

And therefore, whatsoever another would do, I know and assure you I would rather write than speak my mind in a love-matter, especially of my own ; but I say this to convince your obstinate and I think invincible incredulity, who judge of love, charity, words, oaths, modesty, truth, vows, obedience, patience, silence, according to certain prodigious examples and erroneous rules which the prince of darkness sets more usually and authentically before your eyes, which I doubt not but grieve your generous heart to see, and perchance then your crime of silence is now and then punished with a blush, though you be not guilty of the offence. But do not deceive yourself so much to think I either have or will confess my pure and innocent self guilty of love till you deserve that extraordinary trust (which they who for the saving of their soul submit themselves to auricular confession, have all the assurance one mortal man can give or another possibly require) many ways, whereby I may both try your love to me, and your credit with her Majesty, and my credit with you ; for why should I speak, unless you will believe ? How shall I believe any good till I see it ? Nay, you are beholden to me, if your credit and persuasions and reasons will in seven years make me forget these

* The word means here corroborating, "sooth" = truth.

injuries, and believe any word, writing, or assurance her Majesty can make, so confidently as you, who never saw them without effect, would have persuaded me to do, who could have showed you visible signs, and reasons of my just incredulity and hardness of heart ; who might be condemned by all the world for a credulous fool, which were far worse, if I should yield [*to*] a power which hath already spent itself against my unyielding heart, which will rather burst than utter one thought by constraint of any, and the greater the threatenings and the more violently it is assaulted the greater will the victory be.

I have conquered my affection ; I have cast away my hopes ; I have forsaken all comfort ; I have submitted my body and fortune to more subjection than could be commanded. I have disposed of my liberty. I have cut off all means of your attaining what you seek, till you seek it of me by such means as I tell you. What harm can all the world do me now ? Even as much as it would do me good to follow your counsel—that is, none. My servants shall be taken from me, then shall I be no more troubled with their troublesome importunity and inquisitiveness. I shall but hear of my friends' trouble, as Mr. Holford's, and by comparison of my own think it nothing. But you will say I occasion it ; but my conscience will not accuse me, nor they in the end will not think so, but we shall agree that it is they who abuse her Majesty and wrong me, whose malice extends so far every way as their base-bred suspicions can reach for packing every idle word to every foolish imagination, and

gathering every unlikely possible conceit to a deal of trash of their own invention, and lining it with secret whisperings, and shaping it as best pleaseth their fancy, who have made you present her Majesty with a misshapen, discoloured piece of stuff, fitting none, nor fit for her Majesty to look upon, which, if either I might be suffered, or not hindered, I will not say helped—but why should I not be helped, I pray you, in such a piece of work?—should have been presented to her Majesty in a form well beseeming her Majesty; whereas now it is so tossed up and down that it hath almost lost the gloss, and even by the best slubbered (*sic*) up in such haste, that many wrong stitches of unkindness must be picked out, which need not have been so bestowed; and many wrong-placed conceits ripped out, whereof some may be cast away, but most being right placed will do very well. The more you think to make, the more you mar; when all is done I must take it [*in*] hand, and shape my own coat according to my cloth, but it shall not be after your opinion of this world, God willing, but fit for me, and every way becoming of that virtue in me, whether it be a native property of that blood I come of, or an infective virtue of the Earl of Essex; who could go neither friend nor foe knew whither, till he arrived amongst his unwitting enemies, from whom he ever returned with honour, and was received home with joy. Till—all ungrateful not to be bound more strictly by a letter of her Majesty's hand than all the bonds and commandments of any or all other mortal creatures—he stole from his charge as if he had longed for the most

gracious welcome he received, and was punished for his unmannerly (but I think in any lover's opinion pardonable) presumption of kissing that breast in his offensively wet riding-clothes, with making those mild, kind words of reprehension the last that ever his ear received out of his dear mistress's mouth. Of whose favour (not in respect she was his sovereign, as I protest he ever said to me) how greedy he was even in the Earl of Leicester's time (before he so fully possessed it by many degrees, as after, to her Majesty's eternal honour, he did), I, and I doubt not many more better believed at court, are good witnesses. And how over-violently hasty (after two years' silent meditation) to recover it he was this fatal day, Ash Wednesday* and the new dropping tears of some, might make you remember, if it were possible you could forget. *Quis talia fando temperet a lacrimis? Myrmidomina Dolopumue aut duri miles Uliesses?*

And were not I unthankfully forgetful, if I should not remember my noble friend, who graced me, by her Majesty's commandment disgraced orphan, unfound ward, unproved prisoner, undeserved exile, in his greatest and happy[est] fortunes, to the adventure of eclipsing part of her Majesty's favours from him, which were so dear, so welcome to him? Shall not I, I say, now I have lost all I can lose or almost care to lose, now I am constrained to renew these melancholy thoughts by the smarting feeling of my great loss; who may well say I never had nor never shall have the like friend, nor the like time to this to need a friend in court,

* The anniversary of Essex's execution.

spend thus much or rather thus little time, ink, and labour, without incurring the opinion of writing much to little purpose? I do it not to be requited with your applause, for then I might utter more welcome matter in two words, nor that my troubled wits cannot discern how unlooked for, how subject to interpretation, how offensive almost every word will be even to you. But for some reasons which I will tell you, lest you return to that opinion I took so very unkindly at your hands—that the more I writ to the less purpose it was.

First, as I voluntarily confine myself to tears, silence, and solitariness, and submit and desirously expect some yet more apparent token of her Majesty's causelessly conceived displeasure towards me, so I determined to spend this day in sending you the ill-favoured picture of my grief, who went away so desirous to see the picture of that most noble gentleman, the King of Scots. Who[m]—because you know not the power of Divine and Christian love at court so generally well as, for her Majesty's honour and of the place, I would you did—cannot believe one can come so near God's precept, who commandeth us to love our neighbour like ourselves, as to love an unkind but otherwise worthy kinsman, so well as nobody else (it seems to your knowledge) doth any but their paramours, which, if you can make him [*James*] believe, will be an excellent requital for his unprincely and unchristian giving ear to the slanderous and unlikely surmise of the Earl of Essex and me. But he hath studied too much

divinity to think either the word misapplied, or the matter impossible to be most true, and lawfully allowable of any married man, which made you so captious and inquisitive, because you are more conversant in court and in the Arcadian phrase, which need no comment to you, than in the Church, or our Church's translation of the Testament, which commandeth holy love and holy kisses. I am in good hope you will take exceptions to St. Paul's words, now you have them under my hand, and then I have made you partly amends for the labour you have bestowed in reading so long and peevishly tedious a letter.

Secondly, being allowed no company to my liking, and finding this the best excuse to avoid the tedious conversation I am bound to, I think the time best spent in tiring you with the idle conceits of my travelling mind, till it make you ashamed to see into what a scribbling melancholy (which is a kind of madness, and there are several kinds of it *) you have brought me, and leave me, if you leave me till I be my own woman, and then your trouble and mine too will cease. Or make you condemned of idleness and discourtesy, if you requite my long letters with such short and courtier-like peremptory letters, as all I have received from you have been. Whereby I perceive you content yourself with the high, and by you right well deserved, style of her Majesty's faithful servant, and forget you profess yourself, both by word and writ-

* This is a good commentary on Arabella's own "madness" later on.

ing, to be my friend; and now I have it under your hand that your hand is the pawn of your credit, and you would have me trust you, before I be sure you will believe what I say, or have tried, or at least found, your friendship in some points, before I may in discretion trust you any further. I pray you just let me know what you have delivered of me, to whom, [*and*] how it is taken or mistaken, with the freedom of a friend's pen, who have no cause to trust you any more till I see you dare trust me and my messengers with all you know in this matter, which must needs be infinitely more than it hath pleased you yet to deliver. But hitherto you have dealt like a commissioner, your words have been questions, and objections, and promises, and threatenings, but none of your own, and consequently neither possible for you to keep, nor me to trust, how well soever you wish me, or I trust you. But now I thank God your commission is at an end, and let me see what you will or can do, either to persuade me by good and solid reason to alter my mind, and commit my counsel to some friend's ear, or hand, to deliver it to her Majesty; or what you can do for me by your credit with her Majesty, if I should follow your counsel, and put my life, my soul, and all that I hold dear into your hands or her Majesty's, by your persuasion? If it would be, as I know it would be, so much for your satisfaction and credit, to find and understand this concealed truth, which, seek and examine and torture whom you list, you shall never find but in my heart, and oh! that you would seek it there, where it is as deeply printed, and in the same

characters of undeserved, redressless unkindness, as Calais in Queen Mary's. Till your greater and more regarded employments give you as much time as I shall require, without limitation (for then I cannot), or wearisomeness to you (for when I am wearisome my counsel will be burdensome for you to keep), to convert my fear, despair, grief, mistrust, and other deep-rooted conceits, which long time and woeful experience have grafted in my heart, and I have watered in tears full oft, and now they bring forth the, to me bitter, to others misliked, leaves, which hide the desired fruit of your labour from your knowledge, till time have brought it to maturity, and then another is like to steal the thanks, but not of her Majesty, which I should have thought myself happy you might have received of her Highness, by my means. But I perceive you think it not worth the labour, howsoever you pretend, for then your own discretion would have made you believe that which I think I, nor an angel from heaven I think, cannot make you believe that is the truth, when I speak it or write it, else you would have bestowed the labour to come back from Nottingham, upon the sudden, apparently true, and grievous accident happened to me, before you were there. But you were in commission, and had not the Christian liberty to visit me in sorrow, sickness, prison, and many ways distressed, for which God will call all the world to account one day, and particularly you, to whom I [*blot*], and then misjudge me as you list, the panic is past already. Will you not use me as well as traitors are used, who am not guilty of thought, word,

or deed, which, rightly interpreted, can be the least offensive to her Majesty, and can be racked to no greater than a service of silence?

Had the Earl of Essex the favour to die unbound because he was a prince, and shall my hands be bound from helping myself in this distress, before I confess some fault (like the innocent I told you of) which I never committed, and renew my suit to you to convert these unwelcome councillors' letters to a commission to take my head? But remember, if I endure these grievous wounds without striving or speaking, it is because I have recommended myself to the Lord of hosts, whose angels have lifted my soul from my afflicted body, higher than they are able to reach that exceed her Majesty's commission, and torture the condemned to exile with expectation. If I have deserved the land should spue me out, I will feed myself with the idle and windy conceits of an ostracism, and my unregarded poor self shall be all the riches and company I crave to transport. And if a prince's word (who, for aught I have heard, never brake promise) be so much to be relied upon for so small a matter as you would have persuaded me in a greater [*would*] be sufficient assurance, I assure you, if you come, and beg the licence of my transportation, it will requite your, as you count it, lost labour and great pains (which otherwise I think I must die indebted to you for, for gold and silver have I none, neither would you generous and rarely faithful courtiers take it*),

* Old Lady Shrewsbury had pressed a purse into Brounker's hand when he left Hardwick.

with profit, which from her Majesty's hand must needs seem worthy the begging and taking and honour. It may be this hope may prove vain, so vain is the trust reposed in man; and I confess I have been deceived by them I have best trusted, and I would they had all been foreigners and strangers that have deceived and wronged me. Then had not I hoped for land, liberty, and extraordinary favour from her Majesty, nor looked my parent, kin, and pretended friends should amend or comfort my bad fortune, but [*lived*] as happy as any (by all likelihood) have lived like myself, with such honourable and princely treatment as absolute and great princes have thought her Majesty's kinswoman worthy of, and as desirously as princes desire anything (or seem to desire) what is in another's power to grant or deny, have sought at her Majesty's hands, and perchance may receive, but not from her Majesty, more than you will believe possible, and yet no more than is in poor me to grant, in one word which will make you believe me ever after. And, if you will needs urge me to it, they will be glad of it, and yet not be a jot beholden to any that with hard measure plead for them, whom if they knew, they would hinder. I speak unbelieved truth, and ill understood, and worse-constructed riddles, but it is to you, whom I am bold to trouble, and as, if it please you to examine me as a friend, I am content as a friend to answer you, upon such security as friends require and take one of another in matters of this nature.

If, [*so*] as one whose commission is expired to do me good, it is less in your power to help me

now than when you went, or I last writ to you, and I have daily (by Mr. Holford's speedy and rough sending for) less and less cause to look either for favour or justice, and consequently to trust or look for any. But I take God to witness, for my servant Mr. George Chaworth's sake, I have done (but now it is dashed) [*more*] than ever I will do again, for all the commandments, and threatenings, and wrongs, and torments, all [*that*] the council, rackmasters, and all the ministers of her Majesty's indignation can pour upon me, or at his entreaty, or all the world's, till I be used like myself, with as great honour and respect and kindness as is every way due to me, who am not ignorant either of my birth or descent, nor senseless of wrong, nor hopeless of redress, which, as it is my duty first to beg as I have done, and after a while to expect from her Majesty, so it is my duty to God to procure by all the lawful means with speed, because my weak body and travelling mind must be disburdened soon or I shall offend my God, and I were better offend my prince, and I shall be guilty of my own misfortune. Whereas now others are altogether answerable to God and the world, and the world will give their verdict when and where they dare, and God His sentence on my side I doubt not, for such is His promise and written word, sealed with the blood of His only dear Son; confirmed by the manifold testimonies of comfortably concurring Scriptures and the examples of His dear saints; and yet He is content our wavering faith should receive the further assurance of His sacraments, and requiteth our imperfect obedience with thanks

and honour and an immortal crown of glory. To Him be glory only and for ever, amen ; and let the elders and princes say "amen," at least to the "Hosanna !" which children and young men so cheerfully and successfully begin, lest the stones of the trampled streets condemn those that have tongues, and tread upon them, of ill employing or, which is worse, not employing them to His praise. How many vain words are spoken ! and who dare speak for me ? How many wanton favours are earnestly and importunately begged ! and who dare humbly, and even once and no more, remember her Majesty to cast her gracious eye upon me, at least with no less favour than I deserve ? How many inquisitive questions are asked of me ! and how little inquisitive are my friends and acquaintance what becomes of me ! What fair words have I had of courtiers and councillors and so they are vanished into smoke ! Who is he amongst you all dare be sworn in his conscience I have wrong ? and dare tell the Earl of Hertford he hath done it ?

And the two councillors they wrong their estate to show such respect to ruined greatness and wisdom and riches to let innocence be thus oppressed, and truth suppressed. And yet there yet [*still*] are some amongst you have pawned their credit and their soul too to do more for me upon a less occasion untreated [*and*] at their peril. I will pray Almighty God not to take the forfeit, but I will see them hanged as high as ever favourite was (and that was according to his, Haman's, own ambitious direction, meaning to have bestowed that high and airy death of [*on*] an innocent,

that spent his time in giving attendance at the king's gate, whose queen was his niece, but that was more than ever the king knew) before I will claim promise, though promise be debt of the proudest of them. I will rather break a penal law, and though her Highness's countenance be withdrawn from me, so that like Hester [*Esther*] I cannot hope of pardon, for her Majesty's golden sceptre is turned to a scourge upon me. Yet I shall be as well able to pay the uttermost farthing her Majesty shall impose upon me, as my Lord of Hertford. Neither will I first fly and then endure my punishment, but first endure my punishment, and then I trust her Majesty will give me leave to leave all my troubles behind me, and go into a better place than her Majesty hath provided for me, these twenty-seven years wherein I have had experience what it would please her Majesty, all my friends, yea, all England, to do for me, that did nothing for myself, no, not so much as utter one word which had been better uttered for me many a year ago, and shall never be spoken to English man nor woman, whatsoever it is. For declaring my mind to her Majesty more than I have done I dare not; my words have been already too offensively taken, and too unjustly wrested by them that had least cause so to do. I am deaf to commandments, and dumb to authority. I know her Majesty excelleth her sex and all God's creatures in many princely virtues, whereof secresy is one, and in her breast durst I repose my life and my honour, what not, if I had her favour and promise. And her Majesty shall see some, resembling

one of my sex, years, and condition very well to all correspondencies, and without all incongruities, as plain without ambiguities, as I could, for her Majesty's honour, wish their words and actions were ; for these plaits and folds and slight devices do but glitter in the eye, and their small value is discerned whosoever make them worn for fashion's sake. Whereas mine shall be strange and new, and richly worth more than I am worth, or any lady of a subject in this land ; but you shall not know the device at court lest you prevent me, or the foreknowledge take away the grace of the sudden and gorgeous change of my suit, which, how little soever my mourning-weed be respected, will make me envied who am not pitied. But hard will it be for any of them all to follow me, it will be so costly, and yet to me so easy, that they will at least for civility confess themselves less worthy of that which their betters have had much ado to persuade me to take in free gift, acknowledging me (in their partial opinion) worthy of more than they can give, which is more than incredulous you can believe should be offered, much more so long unreceived by poor me. And in truth I thank God for your hardness of heart and wilful blindness, for else I might relent, if you could see to follow my directions, who fain would enjoy meaner fortunes at home ; but God's will be done : only in His power is it to dispose of all His creatures, without respect of persons.

Now I have spent this day in portraying my melancholy innocence in the undeceiving black and white you see, after my rude manner I must tell you true I

think it will not yet be your fortune to understand my meaning, for it is not my meaning you should ; nor to pleasure you to confess all you guess, much less all you believe, though you believe not all you should, much less as you should, of me, if the pomp of this world had not bewitched your court-dazzled eyes. But I have said enough to make you miserable every way, if you will not or cannot either go the way I tell you, or let me without your hard, hardly removed prejudicate * misconceits take my good and godly course, which howsoever it be to her Majesty, if I be not made incapable of any comfort, will be highly to my honour and contentment, and happy shall I be. And I doubt not but they that now condole my misfortunes will fill your ears, when you think all my words but brags and idle conceits impossible to take effect, with congratulation and applause of my devoted and admirable silence. Almighty God be with you. I will not excuse my prolixity, neither is your wiser brevity so commended, now you are yourself, and are so many lines behind mine, who I think must outgo you all in kindness and desert, and you may do very well, and yet not come near me in that point. God forgive my excess and your defects in love and charity.

From Hardwick, this Ash Wednesday.

Your poor friend,

ARBELLA STUART.

* Prejudged.

No. 18.

CECIL AND STANHOPE TO THE DOWAGER COUNTESS
OF SHREWSBURY.

Cecil Papers, v. 135, f. 169.

(*Indorsed*, "Minute to my Lady Shrewsbury, by Mr. Holford, concerning the Lady Arbella.")

(This letter is corrected in another hand, often destroying the sense, for which reason some of the crossed-out passages have been retained; interpellations and comments are made in almost illegible writing in the margin.)

March 14, 1603.

MADAME,—We are very sorry to find, by the strange style of Lady Arbella's letters, that she hath her thoughts no better quieted, especially considering her Majesty's own ready inclination, *notwithstanding her first error in dealing with my Lord of Hertford, to have taken no other course with her than was expressed by our first* [*from * to * scored underneath, as if to draw special attention to the queen's leniency*]; and because we would be very glad even for the suppression of vain reports that the bottom of her heart were known, seeing the bearer hereof is known to be of good religion, and seemeth to be *much interested in her* [*from * to * crossed out, and something to the same purpose written in the margin*]. We should be very glad that your ladyship should suffer him to have access unto her, if it is thought fit, as often as she shall desire him. And next, whereas your ladyship

complains that she is not removed from you, we must reply unto you for the present that her Majesty can in no sort be brought unto it, but rather wisheth that* [*from * to * in the margin*], *seeing she groweth so troublesome both to herself and to others, that you will deal as mildly with her in words as you can, howsoever she may offend you in this time of her passion; because that is the [*ground*] of her quarrel; and that, as much as may be, her sending up and down such strange letters may be forborne; in the which we must tell you truly, and so we pray you to let Mr. William Cavendish know that her Majesty and my lord do expect at his hands that he should interpose himself more decently and [*illegible*] toward the discourtesy of her meaning by these vain [*letters*] than he doth, seeing it is her Majesty's pleasure. And so we do again signify to you that he do ease your ladyship of that continual care which we see you take, the same being a great trouble to yourself and more proper for him, whose company is more agreeable unto her. These directions we have thought fit to give forth, first, because the dispersing of her letters abroad of such strange subjects as she writes is inconvenient in many respects, and in our opinion disgraceful to herself, which maketh us the rather wonder that her uncles there are no more sensible of it, nor do not by their letters or otherwise open themselves to us either in their designs and,*— [*Breaks off here in the margin; and the letter continues, the part from * to * having evidently been added afterwards, as, by leaving out the crossed words, the sentence reads, "but (her*

Majesty) rather wisheth that you will * *, *see above.*"]
 *But [*her Majesty*] hopeth that* you will so [*from *
 to * crossed out*] fashion all things as the young lady
 may not mislike her habitation, so as your ladyship
 assign Mr. William Cavendish to attend her, who is a
 gentleman that can both please her and advise her
 in due proportion. . . .

From the Court at Richmond.

No. 19.

Extracts from Examinations held by Sir Henry Brounker, March 18, 19, in reference to Henry Cavendish's attempt to carry off Arabella.

Cecil Papers, v. 135, f. 171.

Examination of Christopher Chapman, Vicar of Hucknall, Friday, March 18, 1603.

Chapman confessed that Mr. Henry Cavendish and Mr. Stapleton came to his house on Thursday was se'nnight in the morning, about ten of the clock, and that they said they were desirous to speak with Lady Arbella for her good, and they desired to have the key of the steeple, to see if my Lady A. did come to them. His wife said to them, "If you had been here on Saturday last you might have seen her, for she was at the [*Church*]." Whereupon Mr. Stapleton did rise out of his saddle, and threw down his hat, and said, "What [*thing*] is this? It was 'long of my wife; she sent me word to the contrary!" . . . He (Chapman) said he did hear that there were eight horsemen in Hucknall,

and some others in other places hereabouts, but how many he knew not but by common report. . . . He saith that he being at that time at Mansfield,* one John Chambers, an innkeeper in Mansfield, where they (Cavendish and Stapleton) were lodged, meeting him, he (Chapman) drew him aside, and asked him what he did in Mansfield. He (Chambers) had "guests at home." Chapman asked who they were. "Why," said he, "such as you little hope for," naming Mr. H. Cavendish and Mr. Stapleton. Chapman asked what they did there. "Nay," said Chambers, "no matter what they do, but there they are." When Cavendish and Stapleton left Chapman's house on the Thursday morning, they told him Lady Arbella would thank him for their good entertainment.

Ibid., f. 172.

Examination of John and Matthew Stark, March 18, 1603.

John Stark, servant to Mr. Facton, dwelling at Hucknall, within half a mile of Hardwick, saith that on Thursday was se'nnight in the morning, he (Stark) said he saw, beside the aforesaid company, five more gentlemen amongst the hollies in the Den † called Hawthorn Den, and in another place near there by a hedgeside three horsemen more, and in the bushes near a lane, . . . a hundred horsemen in one company, and three more in another company. He heard his

* Mansfield, a town in Nottinghamshire, four or five miles from Hardwick.

† "Den" here means "dell."

master's daughter ask Henry Dove what these men were here for ; he answered, " They came to take my Lady Arbella away." " What ! " said she, " being no more company ? " " Yes," said he, " there are not far off thirty or forty more." Stark further testified that all these companies were within half a mile of each other, and he saw them. One of them had " a little pillion behind his saddle, which he hid with his cloak," and another a case of pistols at his saddle-bow. Matthew testified that John had told him all the above the same day after the company had left.

About ten of the clock there came to his master's house at Hucknall Mr. Henry Cavendish, and Mr. Stapleton, Henry Dove [*in margin*, "servant to my Lady Arbella"], and a hundred serving-men with them. They bade him walk their horses out of the sight of Hardwick House, which he did, afterwards putting them in his master's stable. The gentlemen went and sat down in Mr. Chapman's, the Rector of Hucknall's house. Shortly after Mr. Owen (Lady Arbella's page) and Freak (her imbrederer [= *embroiderer*]) came thither with a letter to them. After they had read that letter, one of the serving-men went and took a horse out of the stable, and rode to call some more company that were in the neighbourhood. After they had talked awhile, Henry Dove said to Mr. Facton's daughter, " She cannot come out this day." One of the serving-men said to another, " We cannot now come to our purpose, but about a fortnight hence we must come again when these blunders are past, but we must not come so many so near the house."

Ibid., f. 173.

Examination of Henry Dove, servant to my Lady Arbella, March 19, 1603.

Dove confessed that he had been sent to fetch Cavendish and Stapleton to come to Lady Arbella, and accompanied them to Hucknall on the Thursday. They thought she would have come thither walking, and hoped to meet her there. Arbella had sent word to Mansfield by her page Owen, the day before, that she would meet them at Hucknall that day. Only four came to Hucknall that day, and some more hid in the hollies in Hawthorn Den. They bade their horses to be walked out of sight of Hardwick, for fear of offending my lady. They asked for the key of the steeple, in order to see if Arbella were coming. When Mr. Stapleton * heard that Arbella had been there the Saturday before, he threw down his hat and said, "This is 'long of my wife." When Mr. Stapleton went from Mansfield, he had meant to go but a little way with his wife, and return to Mansfield or some place near.

* Mr. Stapleton apparently means that, had it not been for going with his wife, he might have come on the Saturday.

C.

No. 1.

(a) LADY ARABELLA TO LORD CECIL.

Holograph. Cecil Papers, v. 135, f. 176 (3).

June 14, 1603.

MY GOOD LORD,—I presume to trouble your lordship in renewing that request which, when I last spake with you, it would not please your lordship to grant; or at least to let me know you would make me bound to you in that kind; that is, that it will please your lordship to remind the king's Majesty of my maintenance, which, if it be not a matter fit for you (as one which your lordship hath already dealt in), my uncle of Shrewsbury is greatly deceived or hath deceived me; but I suppose neither, and therefore presume so much of your honourable disposition that you will endeavour to obtain me that which it will be for his Majesty's honour to grant. And therefore your lordship in that respect (if there were no other) I doubt not will perform more than it was your pleasure to promise me, I think because you would have the benefit greater coming unpromised. And so wishing your lordship increase of honour and happiness, I cease.

From Sheen, the 14th of June.

Your lordship's poor friend,

ARBELLA STUART.

(b) *Same to the same.*

Ashmolean MSS., v. 1729, f. 80.

June 22, 1603.

MY GOOD LORD,—It hath pleased his Majesty to alter his purpose concerning the pension whereof your lordship writ to me. It may please you to move his Majesty that my present want may be supplied by his Highness with some sum which needeth not be annual if it so seem good to his Majesty. But I would rather make hard shift for the present than be too troublesome to his Highness, who, I doubt not, will allow me maintenance in such liberal sort as shall be for his Majesty's honour, and a testimony to the world no less of his Highness's princely bounty than natural affection to me. Which good intention of his Majesty I doubt not but your lordship will further as you shall see occasion, whereof your lordship shall make me greatly bounden to you, as I already acknowledge myself to be. And so, with humble thanks for your honourable letter, I recommend your lordship to the protection of the Almighty, who send you all honour and contentment.

From Sheen, the 22nd of June, 1603.

Your lordship's poor friend,

ARBELLA STUART.

(c) *Same to the same.*

Ibid., f. 81.

June 23, 1603.

MY GOOD LORD,—I humbly thank your lordship that it please you, amongst your great affairs, to remember my suits to his Majesty. For the alteration of my pension I hope I shall shortly have the means to acquaint your lordship with it myself. If I should name two thousand pounds for my present occasions, it would not exceed my necessity, but I dare not presume to crave any certain sum, but refer myself wholly to his Majesty's consideration, and assure myself I shall find your lordship my honourable good friend, both in procuring it as soon, and making the sum as great as may be. So with humble thanks to your lordship for your continual favours, I recommend your lordship to the protection of the Almighty.

From Sheen, the 23rd of June, 1603.

Your lordship's poor friend,

ARBELLA STUART.

These two letters are elaborately written, with flourishes, and great care taken in the formation of the letters, but apparently in Arabella's own hand.

(a) *Same to the same.*

Holograph. Cecil Papers, v. 100, f. 134.

June 26, 1603.

MY GOOD LORD,—I humbly thank your lordship for procuring and hastening the king's liberality towards me. I acknowledge myself greatly bound to your lordship, and have sent this bearer to attend your pleasure, whose important affairs I am constrained to interrupt with this necessary importunity.

From Sheen, the 26th of June.

ARBELLA STUART.

(e) *Same to the same.*

Holograph. Ibid., v. 134, f. 39.

June 30, 1603.

MY GOOD LORD,—I have received his Majesty's liberality by your lordship's means, for which I acknowledge myself greatly bounden to your lordship of [*on*] whose patience I presume in reading these needless lines, rather than I would by omitting your due thanks a short time, leave your lordship in the least suspense of my thankfulness to you whose good opinion and favour I highly esteem. . . .

From Sheen, the 30th of June, 1603.

Your lordship's assured friend,

ARBELLA STUART.

No. 2.

[The originals of the following letters (pp. 180-207, and 222, 223) are at Longleat : Dr. Birch's mistakes in copying them are here rectified.]

(a) LADY A. S. TO HER UNCLE GILBERT, EARL OF
SHREWSBURY.

Birch. Sloane MSS., v. 4164, f. 177.

Aug. 14, 1603.

I humbly thank you for your letter to my Lord Chamberlain Sidney in my behalf, which I have not yet delivered, and for letting me understand your course, which, though it bend directly northward, will not hinder you from thinking and looking to the south, where you leave me to take my fortune in an unknown climate, without either art or instruction but what I have from you, whose skilful directions I will observe as far forth as they are Puritanlike. And though I be very frail, I must confess, yet I trust you shall see in me the good effects of your prayer, and your great glory for reforming my untowardly resolutions and mirth (for great shall the melancholy be that shall appear in my letters to you), which as the best preservative of health I recommend to you, to whom I wish long life, honour, and all happiness.

From Farnham, the 14th of August, 1603.

Your disciple,

ARABELLA STUART.

To my very good uncle, the Earl of Shrewsbury.

(b) TO THE COUNTESS

Ibid., f. 177.

Aug. 23, 1603.

MADAME,—I have written to my uncle how the world goes with me. I beseech you get him to write to my Lord Cecil on my behalf, and to take notice of his and my Lord H. Howard's crossing the king's intention for my allowance of diet. I think that makes others deny me that the king granted, and makes even himself think anything enough, when so wise counsellors think it too much. You know his inclination to be kind to all his kin, and liberal to all he loves, and you know his protestations of extraordinary affection to me. Therefore I am sure it is evil counsel that withholds him so long from doing for me in as liberal sort or more as he hath done for any. The queen was very desirous to have accompanied the king. When she speaks of you, she speaks very kindly and honourably of you. Our great and gracious ladies leave no gesture nor fault of the late queen unremembered, as they say who are partakers of their talk, as, I thank God, I am not. Mr. Elphinstone* is my very good friend, and your much devoted. I pray you let me hear of my faults from you, when you will have me mend them; for I am sure you shall hear of them there, and I neither

* Mr. Inderwick says a Mr. Elphinstone wrote to Queen Anne in 1609, complaining of being ruined in her service, and praying for relief. Arabella spells it "Elfingston."

those faults which are thought so here, nor those qualities good that are most gracious here. Now you are a bystander you may judge and direct better than ever.

I humbly take my leave, praying the Almighty to send you all happiness.

From Basing, the 23rd of August (1603).

Your ladyship's niece to command,

ARBELLA STUART.

I beseech you commend me to my uncle Charles and my aunt, and all my cousins with you. Sir Wm. Stuart remembereth his service to you and my uncle.

(c) *To the same.*

Ibid., f. 178.

Sept. 16, 1603.

MADAME,—If you receive the letters I write, I am sure you will see I fail not to write often how the world goeth here, both in particular with me and otherwise as far as my intelligence stretcheth. Wherefore I rather interpret your postscript to be a caveat to me to write no more than [*how*] I do, and my desire to understand of your health, that is no more than is necessary; than a new commandment to do that, which I already do. But lest in pleasing you I offend my uncle, I have adventured to write to him one superfluous letter more, and that I may include no serious matter in his, I send you all I have of that kind, which is that the king hath under his hand granted me the aforesaid mess of meat, and £800

per annum; and my Lord Cecil will despatch it, I trust, with all speed, for so his lordship promiseth.

Your long-expected messenger, by whom I should have understood your mind, is not yet come, and the queen is going hence to-morrow; but the change of place will not cease my expectation, till I understand from you you have changed your mind in that matter; which, if you do, I shall hope it is with a mind to come up shortly and let me know it yourself, according to a bruit we have here which I would fain believe.

You shall not fail to receive weekly letters, God willing, unless lack of health, or means, or some very great occasion hinder me.

Mr. Elphinstone, who, you may see, is with me late as well as early, remembers his service to you. And so I humbly take my leave, praying the Almighty to send you all honour, happiness, contentment, etc.

Your ladyship's niece to command,

ARBELLA STUART.

Oxford, September 16, 1603.

(d) *To the same.*

Ibid., f. 179.

Oct. 6, 1603.

MADAME,—According to your commandment, I send your ladyship a few scribbled lines, though I be now going in great haste to give my attendance with some company that is come to fetch me. I am as diligently expected and as soon missed as they that perform the most acceptable service. And because I must return at an appointed time to go to my book

I must make the more haste thither. So praying for your happiness, I humbly take my leave.

From Winchester, the 6th of October, 1603.

Your ladyship's niece to command,

ARBELLA STUART.

(e) TO THE EARL.

Ibid., f. 179.

Oct. 27, 1603.

I humbly thank your lordship for the (as to me it seemed, I assure you) short letter of two sheets of paper which I received from you by this bearer, Mrs. Nelson. The letters to my Lord Cecil and Sir Thomas Edmonds were delivered, though not so soon as I wished, they being both absent from hence, so that Sir Thomas's was delivered to the door-keeper of the Council Chamber, and Sir Thomas not coming hither so soon as was expected, Mr. Hercy thought good to fetch it from him (the door-keeper); and how he hath since disposed of it I know not, nor doubt not but he hath done with it as you would have him, for he seems to me very well instructed in your mind. My Lord Cecil had his as soon as he came.

My bad eyes crave truce till they may without their manifest danger write a letter of a larger volume. And so praying for your lordship's honour and happiness in the highest degree that ever subject possessed, I humbly take my leave.

From Fulston, the 27th of October, 1603.

Your lordship's niece,

ARBELLA STUART.

(f) To THE COUNTESS.

Ibid., f. 180.

Nov. 6, 1603.

MADAME,—Because I received a letter from you by this gentlewoman, I dare not, for incurring her opinion of my relapse into some unkindness toward you, but send you a few lines. I will keep a note of the dates of my letters.

That letter of yours which I received since from Mr. Hercy I have answered by him.

My eyes are extremely swollen, and yet I have not spared them when I have had occasion to employ them for your sake. Therefore now they may boldly crave a cessation for this time, only performing their office whilst I subscribe myself such as I am and ever will continue, that is,

Your ladyship's niece to command,

ARBELLA STUART.

(g) To the same.

Ibid., f. 180.

Nov. 4, 1603.

MADAME,—I humbly thank you for your good advice against New Year's-tide. I think there will be no remedy but I must provide myself from London, though I be very loth to do so. I understand by Sir Wm. Stuart how much I am bound to you and my uncle.

I will bethink myself against your long-expected trusty messenger come, whatsoever he be; and that

expectation shall keep me from troubling you with so full and tedious a discourse as I could find in my heart to disburden my mind withal to you.

I humbly thank you for my servant, G. Chaworth.* And so praying for your happiness I humbly cease.

From Fulston, the 4th of November, 1603.

Your ladyship's niece to command,

ARBELLA STUART.

(h) Two letters to the earl and countess on the same day, the 28th of November, from Fulston.

Ibid., f. 181.

TO THE EARL.

I must only return your lordship humble thanks for the letter I have received from you, and reserve the answer till I trust a few days will make me able to write without extreme pain of my head. Mr. Cooke can tell your lordship all the news that is here. And so praying for your lordship's happiness, I humbly take my leave.

Your lordship's niece,

ARBELLA STUART.

TO THE COUNTESS.

MADAME,—I humbly thank you for your letters, pill, and hartshorn. I have taken, continued, and increased an extreme cold. I mean to sweat to-

* See vol. i. p. 135 for Chaworth, who was Arabella's messenger to Brounker.

day for it. Mr. Cooke can tell you how the world goes here. And so, praying for your happiness, I humbly take my leave.

Your ladyship's niece to command,

ARBELLA STUART.

(i) Two letters on the same day, December 8, 1603, from Fulston, to the earl and countess.

TO THE EARL.

Add. MSS., v. 22, 563, f. 43; and Sloane MSS., v. 4164, f. 181, 182.

It may please your lordship to pardon me, if writing now in haste, with a mind distracted with the several cares of a householder, and those that this remove * and New Year's-tide add thereto, I omit sometimes that which were perchance more material to write than that I write, and forget many things which, according to the manner of us that have only after-wits, come not to mind till your letters be gone, and then are too ancient news to be sent by the next.

I received your lordship's letter safe by Mrs. Nelson, and that *your* in my aunt's letter was plural, so that I meant I had received your lordship's and hers, how ill soever I expressed it; I will amend my obscurity, God willing. Your lordship taxeth my obscurity in the comment upon a part of some letter of mine you desired to have explained. But, whatsoever you took for the explanation of it, I am sure I sent you none,

* To apartments in Whitehall.

for I knew not what it was you desired to have expounded.

I pray you take not that *pro concesso* in general, which is only proper to some monsters of our sex. I cannot deny so apparent a truth as that wickedness prevaleth with some of our sex, because I daily see some, even of the fairest amongst us, misled, and willingly and wittingly ensnared, by the prince of darkness. But yet ours [*our sex*] shall still be the purer and more innocent kind. There went ten thousand virgins to heaven in one day. Look but in the almanac, and you shall find that glorious day. And if you think there are some, but not many, of us that may prove saints, I hope you are deceived. But *not many rich, not many noble, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven.* So that riches and nobility are hindrances from heaven, as well as our nature's infirmity. You would think me very full of divinity, or desirous to shew that little I have, in both which you should do me wrong, if you knew what business I have at court, and yet preach to you. Pardon me, it is not my function. Now a little more to the purpose.

I have delivered your two patents, signed and sealed, to Mr. Hercy. If it be not an inexcusable presumption in me to tell you my mind unasked, as if I would advise you what to do, pardon me if I tell you I think your thanks will come very unseasonably so near New Year's-tide, especially those with which you send any gratuity. Therefore consider if it were not better to give your New Year's *gift* first to the queen,

and your *thanks* after, and keep Mr. Fowler's till after that good time. New Year's-tide will come every year, and be a yearly tribute to them you begin with. You may impute the slowness of your thankfulness to Mr. Hercy, or me that acquainted you no sooner with your own matter.

The Spanish ambassador invited Mdme. de Beaumont (the French ambassador's lady) to dinner, requesting her to bring some English ladies with her. She brought my Lady Bedford,* Lady Rich,† Lady Susan, ‡ and Lady Dorothy with her, and great cheer they had. A fortnight after he invited the Duke [*of Lenox*], the Earl of Mar, and divers of that nation, requesting them to bring the Scottish ladies, for he was desirous to see some natural beauties. My Lady Anne Hay and my cousin Drummond [*Lady Jane*] went, and, after the sumptuous dinner, were presented first with a pair of Spanish gloves apiece, and after my cousin Drummond had a diamond ring of the value of two hundred crowns given her, and my Lady Anne a gold chain of Spanish work near that value. My Lady Carey went with them, and had gloves there, and after a gold chain of little links twice about her neck sent her.

Yesterday the Spanish ambassador, the Florentine, and Mdme. de Beaumont took their leave of the

* Lucy, Countess of Bedford, daughter of John, Lord Harington.

† Penelope, wife of Robert, Lord Rich, afterwards Earl of Warwick, and sister to Robert, Earl of Essex.

‡ Vere, who married Mr. Philip Herbert, afterwards Earl of Pembroke.

queen till she come to Hampton Court. There is an ambassador come from Polonia, and fain would he be gone again, because of the freezing of their seas, but he hath not yet had audience. The Venetians lately sent two ambassadors with letters both to the king and queen. One of them is returned with a very honourable despatch; but he, staying but few days, and the queen not being well, he saw her not. The other stays here still.

It is said the Turk hath sent a Chahu to the king. It is said the pope will send a knight to the King in embassy [*she spells it "imbassage" and "imbassadour"*]. The Duke of Savoy's embassy is daily expected.

But out of this confusion of embassages will you know how we spend our time on the queen's side? Whilst I was at Winchester, there were certain child-plays remembered by the fair ladies, viz. "I pray, my lord, give me a course in your park;" "Rise, pig, and go;" "One penny, follow me," etc. And when I came to court, they were as highly in request as ever cracking of nuts was. So I was by the mistress of the revels, not only compelled to play at I knew not what (for till that day I never heard of a play called "Fier"), but even persuaded by the princely example I saw to play the child again. This exercise is most used from ten of the clock at night till two or three in the morning, but that day I made one it began at twilight and ended at supper-time. There was an interlude, but not so ridiculous (as ridiculous as it was) as my letter, which here I conclude, with

many prayers to the Almighty for your happiness, and so I humbly take my leave.

From Fulston, the 8th of December, 1603.

Your lordship's niece,

ARBELLA STUART.

TO THE COUNTESS.

Ibid., f. 183; Add. MSS., v. 22, 563, f. 45.

Dec. 8, 1603.

MADAME,—I humbly thank you for your kindness expressed many ways, and lately in the letter received from you by my cousin Lacy's man. How defective soever my memory be in other ways, assure yourself I cannot forget even small matters concerning that great party, much less such great ones as, I thank God, I was [*not*] acquainted withal. Therefore, when any great matter comes in question, rest secure, I beseech you, that I am not interested in it as an actor, howsoever the vanity of wicked men's vain designs have made my name pass through a gross, and a subtle lawyer's * lips of late, to the exercise and increase of my patience, and not their credit. I trust I have not lost so much of your good opinion as your pleasant postscript would make one that were suspicious of their assured friends (as I never was) believe. For if I should not prefer the reading of your kind and most welcome letters before all court delights (admit I delighted as much in them as others do), it were a sign of extreme folly ;

* Referring to the rumours about her part in the Main Plot, and Coke's speech at Sir Walter Raleigh's trial (see vol. i. pp. 176-182).

and liking court sports no better than I do, and than I think you think I do, I know you cannot think me so transformed as to esteem anything less than them. As your love and judgment together makes me hope you know I can like nor love nothing better than the love and kindness of so honourable friends as you and my uncle. Wherefore I beseech you let me hear often [*that I may be sure of*] your love by the length and number of your letters. My own follies, [*and*] ignorances will minister you sufficient matter for as many and as long letters as you please, which, I beseech you, may be as many and as copious as may be without your trouble.

I have satisfied the honourable gentlewoman without raising any expectation in her to receive letters from you, which is a favour I desire only may be reserved still [*always*] for myself, my good Lord Cecil, and your best esteemed friends. I asked her advice for a New Year's gift for the queen, both for myself, who am altogether unprovided, and a great lady, a friend of mine, that was in my case for that matter ; and her answer was, the queen regarded not the value, but the device. The gentlewoman neither liked gown nor petticoat so well as some little bunch of rubies to hang in her ear, or some such daft toy. I mean to give her Majesty two pair of silk stockings lined with plush, and two pair of gloves lined, if London afford me not some daft toy I like better, whereof I cannot bethink me. If I knew the value you would bestow, I think it were no hard matter to get her or Mrs. Hartshide [*to*] understand the queen's mind without

knowing who asked it. The time is short, and therefore you had need lose none of it. I am making the king a purse, and for all the world else I am unprovided. This time will manifest my poverty more than all the rest of the year. But why should I be ashamed of it when it is others' fault, and not mine? My quarter's allowance will not defray this one charge, I believe.

Sir William Stuart continueth his charitable desire, but he cannot persuade me to lose my labour, how little soever he esteem his own to so good an end, which I wish but think not feasible, at least by me.

Thus praying for the increase of your happiness every way, I humbly take my leave.

From Fulston, the 8th of December, 1603.

Your ladyship's most affectionate niece to command,
ARBELLA STUART.

(j) TO THE EARL.

Add. MSS., v. 22, 563, f. 47.

That night the queen came hither, which was on Friday, the 16th of December, I received your lordship's packet to me by one of my Lord Cecil's men. Mr. Hercy's letter I keep till I see him, which will be very shortly, as he lately told me. I humbly thank you for your thanks to my Lord Cecil for me. I am a witness, not only of the rare gift of speech which God hath given him, but of his excellent judgment in choosing most plausible and honourable themes, as the defending a wronged lady, the clearing of an

innocent knight, etc. I humbly thank you for your letter to my Lord Bishop of Winchester, which, if it be written (as I doubt not but it is) in that sort as may avail the recommended, is worth ten favours of greater value that you had been willing to grant ; but if, as being written *invita Minerva*, they be unto him like Uriah's sealed letter. Alas ! what have I done ?

Well, I suspect you not, therefore now you may deceive me ; and you deceive me (who am better persuaded of your judgment) if you do not perceive I cast that doubt only to make you merry with looking into the infiniteness of suspicion, if one will nourish it ; not that I have the least doubt of your honourable dealing with any, and especially myself.

The invitation is very cold if the Christmas guests you write of accept it not, for they knew their welcome and entertainment in a worse place, and yet were so bold to invite themselves thither. I humbly thank you that for my sake they shall be the welcomer to you, who, in regard of their nearness of blood to yourself and my aunt, must needs be so very welcome that (if you had not written it) I should not have thought they could have been more welcome to you in any respect than that.

Your venison shall be right welcome to Hampton Court, and merrily eaten.

I dare not write unto you how I do, for if I should say well, I were greatly to blame ; if ill, I trust you would not believe me, I am so merry. It is enough to change Heraclitus into Democritus to live in this

most ridiculous world, and enough to change Democritus into Heraclitus to live in this most wicked world. If you will not allow reading of riddles for a Christmas sport, I know not whether you will take this philosophical folly of mine in good part this good time.

I writ to your lordship, by a messenger of Mr. Hercy's, an answer of yours I received by my cousin Lacy's man, of such news as then were news, as I think in the North, and now have I none to send but that the king will be here to-morrow. The Polonian ambassador shall have audience on Thursday next. The queen intendeth to make a mask this Christmas, to which end my Lady of Suffolk and my Lady Walsingham have warrants to take of the late queen's best apparel out of the Tower at their discretion.

Certain noblemen (whom I may not yet name to you, because some of them hath made me of their counsel) intend another; certain gentlemen of good sort another. It is said there shall be thirty plays.

The king will feast all the ambassadors this Christmas. Sir John Hollis * yesterday convoyed some new-come ambassador to Richmond, and it was said (but uncertainly) to be a Muscovian.

I have reserved the best news for the last, and that is the king's pardon of life to the not-executed traitors. I dare not begin to tell of the royal and wise manner of the king's proceeding therein, lest I should find no end of extolling him for it, till I had written out a

* Created Earl of Clare in 1624; a favourite of Henry, Prince of Wales.

pair of bad eyes ; and therefore praying for your lordship's happiness, I humbly and abruptly take my leave.

From Hampton Court, the 18th of December,
1603.

Your lordship's niece,
ARBELLA STUART.

(k) TO THE COUNTESS.

Sloane MSS., v. 4164, f. 185.

Dec. 22, 1603.

MADAME,—I received your ladyship's letter by your old servant David three days ago, and his desire being I should speak to some of the Council in his behalf, and he, knowing he had brought a letter of recommendation to me, lest he should think me disobedient to you, who willed me to do what I could for him, I offered to speak to the Duke of Lenox in his behalf, who is the only Councillor, now my uncle is away, that I will move in any such suit. But I told him it would be to so little purpose, that, though at that present he seemed to desire his furtherance, I have not seen him since, and so, upon better consideration, I think he takes the right way, and will spare that needless labour of mine to speak to one for him that can do him little good. But whether I shall see David any more before his return to you or not, I know not ; and therefore, Mr. Hercy having left this packet of his with me to be sent by the first messenger I could hear of, I have rather made bold

with this bearer, as he can tell you, than either stay it (for Mr. Hercy saith it requireth haste) or rely on the uncertainty of your servant.

The Polonian ambassador had audience to-day. Other news there is none that I know, and therefore I beseech you make my excuse to my uncle that I write not to him in this busy time and scarcity of occurrence. And so praying the Almighty to send you both all happiness, I humbly take my leave.

From Hampton Court, the 22nd of December (1603).

Your ladyship's most affectionate niece to command,

ARBELLA STUART.

P.S.—Mr. Hercy sent a packet by post wherein I writ to my uncle and you, in answer of those I received from you by my cousin Lacy's man. I beseech you let me know if you received them safe. If I had thought they should have been sent by post, I should have written more reservedly.

(I) TO THE COUNTESS.

Ibid., f. 195.

MADAME,—This everlasting hunting, the tooth-ache, and the continual means by my Lord Cecil to send to you, makes me only write these few lines to show I am not unmindful of your commandments, and reserve the rest I have to write, both to you and my uncle, some few hours longer, till my pain assuage, and I have given my never-intermitted attendance on the queen, who daily extendeth her favours more and

more towards me. The Almighty send you and my uncle all prosperity, and keep me still, I beseech you, in your good opinion, who will ever remain,

Your ladyship's niece to command,

ARBELLA STUART.

Undated.

D.

(a)

TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

Sloane MSS., v. 4164, f. 186.

This bearer coming to me in such haste, as he can tell your lordship, I only observe your commandment in scribbling never so little, never so ill, and reserve all I have to write of to your lordship—that is, some Hardwick news, and such vanities as this place and holy time afford me till Emery's return, by whom I have received a large essay of your lordship's good cheer at Sheffield. I humbly thank you and my aunt for it. One Mr. Tunsted expecteth letters from your lordship, and came once himself, and said he would send to my chamber often, in adventure you should send them to me. And thus praying to the Almighty to send your lordship so much increase of honour and happiness that you may confess yourself to be the king's happiest subject, I humbly take my leave.

From Hampton Court, the 2nd of January, 1604.

Your lordship's niece,

ARBELLA STUART.

I beseech you obtain my pardon of my aunt for not writing to her at this time.

(b)

To the same.

Ibid., f. 186 ; and see Add. MSS., v. 22, 563, p. 50.

Jan. 10, 1604.

This bearer having leave for a short time to visit the north, and not giving me time sufficient to write the description of the three masques, besides two plays played before the prince, since my last advertisement of these serious affairs, I must beseech your lordship to pardon the shortness of my letter, proceeding—partly of the short warning I had of his going down, partly of the shortness of my wit, who at this instant remember no news but is either too great to be contained in my weak paper, or vulgar, or such as without detriment but of your lordship's expectation may tarry the next messenger. I have here enclosed sent your lordship the Bishop * of Winchester's letter in answer of yours. I beseech you let me know what you writ, and what he answers concerning the party in whose favour I craved your letter, that I may let the good Warden know as soon as may be. My Lady of Worcester † commendeth her as kindly to your lordship, and not to my aunt, as you did yourself to her in her ladyship's letter, and is as desirous to raise jealousy betwixt you two as you are like to do betwixt them. Thus praying to the Almighty, etc.

From Hampton Court, the 10th of January, 1604.

Your lordship's niece,

ARBELLA STUART.

* Dr. Thomas Bilson.

† Elizabeth, wife of Edward, Earl of Worcester, and daughter of Francis, Earl of Huntingdon.

I had almost tried whether your lordship would have performed a good office betwixt two friends undesired ; for I had forgotten to beseech you to excuse me to my aunt for not writing to her at this time.

I think I am asked every day of this New Year, seven times a day at least, when you come up, and I have nothing to say, but *I cannot tell*, which it is not their pleasure to believe, and therefore if you will not resolve them nor me of the truth, yet teach me what to answer them.

(c)

To the same.

Sloane MSS., v. 4164, f. 187.

Jan. 11, 1604.

My Lord Cecil sent me a fair pair of bracelets this morning, in requital of a trifle I presented him at New Year's-tide, which it pleased him to take as I meant it. I find him my very honourable friend both in word and deed. I pray you give him such thanks for me as he many ways deserves, and especially for this extraordinary and unexpected favour, whereby I perceive his lordship reckoneth me in the number of his friends, for whom only such great persons as he reserve such favours.

Thus praying for your lordship's happiness, I humbly take my leave.

From Hampton Court, the 11th of January, 1604.

Your lordship's niece,

ARBELLA STUART.*

* Following this letter is a short note, dated Jan. 21, from Arabella to her aunt, also from Hampton Court.

(d)

To the same.

Ibid., f. 188, 189.

Feb. 3, 1604.

Having sent away this bearer with a letter to my aunt, and not your lordship, with an intention to write to you at length by Mr. Cooke, I found so good hope of my grandmother's good inclination to a good and reasonable reconciliation betwixt herself and her divided family, that I could not forbear to impart to your lordship with all speed. Therefore I beseech you put on such a Christian and honourable mind as best becometh you to bear to a lady so near to you and yours as my grandmother is. And think you cannot devise to do me a greater honour and contentment than to let me be the only mediator, moderator, and peacemaker betwixt you and her. You know I have cause only to be partial on your side, so many kindnesses and favours have I received from you, and so many unkindnesses and disgraces have I received from the other party. Yet will I not be restrained from chiding you (as great a lord as you are) if I find you either not willing to harken to this good motion, or to proceed in it as I shall think reasonable. Consider what power you will give me over you in this, and take as great over me as you give me over you in this in all matters but one,* and in that your authority and persuasion shall as far exceed theirs as your kindness †

* Her marriage.

† See pp. 110, 128. This remark shows that Arabella was deceiving her grandmother about her uncle's unkindness to her.

to me did in my trouble. If you think I have either discretion or good nature, you may be sure you may refer much to me. If I be not sufficient for this treaty, never think me such as can add strength or honour to your family. But Mr. Cooke persuades me you think otherwise than so abjectly of me. And so praying the Almighty you may [*take*] such a course both in this and all your other honourable designs as may, with your most honour and contentment, bring you to those good ends you wish, whatsoever they be, I humbly take my leave.

From Hampton Court, the 3rd of February, 1604.

[Unsigned.]

P.S.—I beseech you bring my uncle Henry* and my aunt Grace up with you to London. They shall not long be troublesome to you, God willing; but because I know my uncle hath some very great occasion to [*be*] about London for a little while, and is not well able to bear his own charges, nor I for him, as I would very willingly if I were able, to so good an end as I know he comes to now. And therefore I beseech you take that pains and trouble of bringing them up, and keeping them awhile with you for my sake and our families' good. I have here enclosed sent you a letter to him, which, if you grant him this favour I require of you, I beseech you send him; if you will not, return it to me, and let him not be so much discomforted to see I am not able to obtain so much of you for him. In truth, I am ashamed to

* Her old friend, Henry Cavendish, eldest son of the old Countess of Shrewsbury, and his wife Grace (Talbot), daughter of the old earl.

trouble you with so many rude and (but for my sake, as you say) unwelcome requests ; but if you be weary of me, you may soon * be despatched of me for ever (as I am told) in more honourable sort than you may deny this my very earnest request.

(e)

To the same.

Ibid., f. 188-191.

Dated only 1604, probably early in March.

I humbly thank your lordship for sparing me never so few words in the time of your taking physic, which I would not should have been more for doing you harm in holding down your head at such a time ; but when you are well I hope to receive some Hardwick news, which, unless your lordship be a great deal briefer than that plentiful argument requireth, will cost you a long letter. My aunt findeth fault with my brevity, as I think by your lordship's commandment ; for I know she in her wisdom respecteth ceremony so little that she would not care in time of health for hearing from me every week that I am well and nothing else. And I know her likewise too wise to make that the cause of her offence, suppose in policy she should think good to seem or to be offended with me, whom perchance you now think good to shake off as weary of the alliance. But I conclude your lordship hath a quarrel to me, and maketh my aunt take

* She appears to refer to one of the numerous marriage projects.

it upon her, and that is (for other can you justly have none) that you have never a letter of mine since your going down, to make you merry at your few spare hours, which, if it be so, your lordship may command me in plain terms and deserve it by doing the like, and I shall as willingly play the fool for your recreation as ever. I assure myself, my Lord Cecil, my Lord Pembroke, your honourable new ally, and divers of your old acquaintance, write your lordship all the news of [*Court*] * that is stirring, so that I will only impart [*some*] * trifles to your lordship at this time as concern myself.

After I had once carved, the queen never dined out of her bed-chamber, nor was attended by any but her chamberers till my Lady of Bedford's return. I doubted my unhandsome carving had been the cause thereof, but her Majesty took my endeavour in good part, and with better words than that beginning deserved put me out of that error. At length (for now I am called to the sermon I must hasten to an end) it fell out that the importunity of certain great ladies in that or some other suit of the like kind had done me this disgrace; and whom should I hear named for one but my aunt of Shrewsbury, who, they say, at the same time stood to be the queen's cup-bearer. If I could have been persuaded to believe, or seem to believe that whereof I knew the contrary, I might have been threatened down to my face that I was of her counsel therein, that I deeply dissembled with my friends when I protested the contrary; for I was heard to confer with her, they say, to that purpose.

* Here gaps are left in the Sloane MSS.

But these people do little know how circumspect my aunt and your lordship are with me. I humbly thank you for the example.

I hear the marriage betwixt my Lord of Pembroke and my cousin * is broken, whereat some time I laugh, otherwhiles am angry ; sometimes answer soberly as though I thought it possible, according as it is spoken in simple earnest, scorn, policy, or howsoever at the least as I conceive it spoken. And your lordship's secrecy is the cause of this variety (whereby some conjecture I know something), because I have no certain direction what to say in that case. I was asked within these three days whether your lordship would be here within ten days ; unto which (to me) strange question I made so strange an answer as I am sure either your lordship or I are counted great dissemblers. I am none ; quit yourself as you may. But I would be very glad you were here, that I need not chide you by letter, as I must needs do if I be chidden either for the shortness, rareness, or preciseness of my letters, which by your former rules I might think a fault, by your late example a wisdom. I pray you reconcile your deeds and words together, and I shall follow that course herein which your lordship best allows of. In the mean time, I have applied myself to your lordship's former liking and the plainness of my own disposition. And so, praying for your lordship's health, honour, and happiness, I humbly take my leave.

From Whitehall.

Your lordship's niece,

ARBELLA STUART.

* Mary Talbot. The marriage took place this year.

Another letter on October 3, 1604, from Lady Arabella to her aunt, the Countess of Shrewsbury, contains only thanks for game.

(f)

TO THE EARL.

Ibid., f. 191, 192.

Oct. 18, 1604.

I humbly thank your lordship and my aunt for the six very good red deer pies I have received from your lordship by Mr. Hercy. My aunt's thanks, which I received for my plain dealing with Mr. Booth, and the few lines I received last from you and my aunt by Mr. Hercy, have relation to certain conditions and promises as well on your lordship's part as mine, and therefore your lordship's confidence of my conditional promise resteth not in me only. I assure myself you are so honourable, and I so dear unto you, that you will respect as well what is convenient for me as what you earnestly desire, especially my estate being so uncertain and subject to injury as it is. Your lordship shall find me constantly persevere in a desire to do that which may be acceptable to you and my aunt, not altogether neglecting myself. And so I humbly take my leave, praying for your happiness.

From Whitehall, the 18th of October, 1604.

Your lordship's niece,

ARBELLA STUART.

(g)

To the same.

Ibid., f. 192.

Dec. 24, 1604.

I have sent sooner than I had time to write to your lordship of anything here, and yet not so soon but I am sure I am already condemned by your lordship and my aunt, either for slothful, or proud, or both, because I writ not by the very first [*who*] went down after I received your letters. So have I fully satisfied neither your lordship nor myself, and yet performed a due respect to a very honourable friend, whose honour and happiness I shall ever rejoice at, and think my own misfortunes the less if I may see my wishes for your lordship's and my aunt's permanent, happy, and great fortune take effect. And so I humbly take my leave.

From Whitehall, the 24th of December, 1604.

Your lordship's niece,

ARBELLA STUART.

Though I have written your lordship no news, I have sent you here enclosed very good store from Mr. Secretary Fowler. My old good spy, Mr. James Mourray, desireth his service may be remembered to your lordship and my aunt; but if I should write every tenth word of his, wherein he wisheth you more good than is to be expressed at court on a Christmas Eve, you would rather think this scribbled paper a short text with a long comment underwritten, than a letter with a postscript.

(h)

LADY ARBELLA TO PRINCE HENRY.

Holograph. Harl. MSS., v. 6986, f. 71.

London, Oct. 18, 1605.

SIR,—My intention to attend your Highness to-morrow, God willing, cannot stay me from acknowledging, by these few lines, how infinitely I am bound to your Highness for that your gracious disposition towards me, which faileth not to show itself upon every occasion, whether accidental or begged by me, as this late high favour and grace it hath pleased your Highness to do my kinsman at my humble suit. I trust to-morrow to let your Highness understand such motives of that my presumption as shall make it excusable. For your Highness shall perceive I both understand with what extraordinary respects suits are to be presented to your Highness, and withal that your goodness doth so temper your greatness as it encourageth both me and many others to hope that we may taste the fruits of the one by means of the other. The Almighty make your Highness every way such as I, Mr. Newton, and Sir David Murray (the only intercessors I have used in my suit, or will in any I shall present to your Highness) wish you, and then shall you be even such as you are; and your growth in virtue and grace with God and men shall be the only alteration we will pray for. And so in all humility I cease.

Your Highness's most humble and dutiful

ARBELLA STUART.

E.

LADY ARBELLA STUART TO SIR ANDREW SINCLAIR.

Draft. Harl. MSS., v. 7003, f. 45.

SIR,—You having not only performed the kindness I required of you, in delivering my letters to their Majesties, but returned me so great and unexpected a favour as his Majesty's letters, have doubly bound me to you, and I yield you therefore many great thanks, beseeching you to continue in preferring their Majesties' favour to me, for which good office I most desire to become obliged to you, so worthy and reverent a person. It may please you now with most humble thanks to present this letter to his Majesty, for whose prosperity none doth more daily and devoutly pray than I, and this [*work*] to the queen's Majesty, which is so very a trifle as I was ashamed to accompany it with a letter to her Majesty, and if a piece of work of my own, which I was preparing, had been ready, I had prevented his Majesty's gracious and your kind letter in sending to you, but I was desirous not to omit her Majesty in the acknowledgment of my duty to her royal husband, and therefore loth to stay the finishing of a greater, have sent this little piece of work, in accepting whereof her Majesty's favour will be the greater.

Thus am I bold to trouble you even to these womanish toys, whose serious mind must have some relaxation, and this may be one to vouchsafe to

descend to these petty offices for one that will ever wish your happiness increase and continuance of honour.

SIR ANDREW SINCLAIR TO LADY ARBELLA STUART.

Harl. MSS., v. 7003, f. 46, copy. Draft for this slightly different, unfinished, f. 47.

Aug. 26, 1606.

My humble duty being remembered, most worthy lady, it hath pleased both their Majesties to command me to write their Majesties' most gracious commendations to your ladyship, and to thank your ladyship for the honest faith it hath pleased your ladyship to bestow on both their Majesties. The queen, in especial, esteems much of that present your ladyship hath sent her Majesty, and says that her Majesty will wear it for your ladyship's sake. The king has commanded me to assure your ladyship that there is no honour, advancement, nor pleasure that his Majesty can do your ladyship but he shall do it, faithfully and willingly, as one of the best friends your ladyship has in the world. Surely I must confess with verity I never heard no prince speak more worthily of a princess than his Majesty does of your ladyship's good qualities and rare virtues, while I say no more, but I shall be a faithful instrument to entertain that holy friendship between his Majesty and your ladyship. As touching my Lady Nottingham, the king is now very well content with her ladyship, because her letter was written of a little coleric passion founded on a feckless report ;

for his Majesty did never think that her ladyship had offended him, but only those that were the reporters of such foolish words to her. For so had been that he did speak some merry words in jesting, it was not the duty of men of honour (for her ladyship makes mention in her letters) to have reported again to her such things of no effect. And, as for my part, madam, I protest before the living God I showed not the king her letter by malice, but by duty towards my gracious master; for if I had not shown him the letter I had been in danger of a perpetual disgrace. So I pray your ladyship, that if any speak to my disadvantage in this matter in discharging my obliged devotion to my master, that your ladyship will answer for me, as for one that has always dedicated himself to do your ladyship all the honour and service that lies in my power, as I confess myself to be perpetually obliged to your ladyship. So in my inviolable, honest devotion I take my leave, and commit your ladyship to the Lord's eternal protection.

From court at Kioffenhafen* the 26th of August, 1606.

Your ladyship's obliged friend

to do you tried service,

ANDREW SINCLAIR.

* Copenhagen.

LADY ARABELLA STUART TO SIR ANDREW SINCLAIR.*

Draft. Harl. MSS., v. 7003, f. 48.

MY HONOURABLE GOOD FRIEND,—I yield both their Majesties most humble thanks for their gracious favours, and have presumed to do so by letters to themselves, which I must account one of their special graces, that it pleaseth them to license me to do so; for by the patronage of so worthy a prince, so interested in them of whom my fortune depends, and so graciously affected to me, I cannot doubt but at last to come to some such story as shall give me perpetual cause to pray for his Majesty, whose gracious favour, so many ways expressed, is of itself an especial comfort and honour to me. And for you, my honourable friend, by whose good means I enjoy this happiness, I can but acknowledge myself your debtor till God make me able better to express my thankfulness, as I doubt not, by God's grace, but I shall be made by your good endeavours, and the mediation of your most gracious Majesty, whose good favour of itself is so highly and duly esteemed by me that I hold myself so thoroughly appaied * [*rewarded*] therewith as I should desire no more but the preservation of it but that I perceive, by your letters, virtue is of itself delighted to do good, and the neglect of offered bounty would deprive them of the honour and contentment they receive in well-doing. Therefore, when the first

* There is another letter (f. 42) from Arabella to Sinclair, in which she says no prince could have left a more honourable memory behind him than the Danish king has done in London.

opportunity is offered that I may request your pains to come hither, accompanied with his Majesty's gracious letters, upon any good and hopeful occasion of mine, I will rely so much on your friendship that you will do so, and till the season serve I will consult with my friends of some suits that I have propounded to me, whereof one hath a very good appearance. But his Majesty's favour is so precious to me, and I am so loth to trouble you without almost assurance to make you amends by partaking the fruit of your pains and friendliness, that I will rather lose time than not be in very assured hope to prevail by those means, when I employ them. And so requesting you to present these enclosed to their Majesties, and to maintain me in their favour, I take my leave.

Enclosed in above.

LADY ARBELLA STUART TO ANNE CATHARINE,
QUEEN OF DENMARK.

Draft. Harl. MSS., v. 7003, f. 49.

I yield your Majesty most humble thanks for your gracious acceptation of that trifle, which, with blushing at the unworthiness thereof, I ventured to present unto your Majesty, only out of the confidence of the sympathy of your gracious disposition, with that I found in the most puissant and noble king your husband. Wherein, as I find myself nothing deceived, having received so extraordinary a favour from you, so I am encouraged hereafter to continue the like signification of my dutiful respect and affection to your Majesty,

in hope it will please you by wearing my handiwork, to continue me in your gracious favour and remembrance. And so praying for your happiness.

A Latin letter from Arabella to Sir Andrew Sinclair.

Harl. MSS., v. 7003, f. 52.

ILLUSTRISIME DOMINE,—Humillimas ac debitas gratias Augustissimo Regi ac Reginae propter immensam eorum erga me benignitatem per has literas referendas curavi, quas si in regias utriusque manus tua Excellentia dare voluerit verbisque suis me devotissimam et observantissimam utriusque Majestatis profitebitur, pergratum et peramicum mihi officium et te plane dignum fecerit, dum ea comprobaveris quæ in ore omnium de te feruntur, te summum scilicet divinum honorum (nostræ autem gentis præcipue) apud regem fautorem esse. Cæterum humanitas tua erga me singularis qui me tam honorifica salutatione apud classem condecorasti, quod lubentius et confidentius hoc abs te peterem in causa fuit. Deus Opt. Max., Excellentiam tuam incolumem servet.

Hamptoniæ, 24 Oct., 1606.

Tuæ Excellentia quæ bene precatur,

A. S.

(*Indorsed*, “Illustrissimo Domino Christiano Prin. Domino de Borebium, regni Daniæ Cancellario.”)

F.

(a)

QUEEN ANNE TO THE LADY ARBELLA STUART.

Harl. MSS., v. 6986, f. 74.

March 9, 1607.

Anne R.

WELL-BELOVED COUSIN,—We greet you heartily well. Udo * Gal, our dear brother's the King of Denmark's gentleman servant, hath insisted with us for the licensing your servant, Thomas Cutting, to depart from you, but not without your permission, to our brother's service; and therefore we write these *few* lines unto you, being assured you will make no difficulty to satisfy our pleasure and our dear brother's desires, and so giving you the assurance of our constant favours, with our wishes for the continuance or convalescence of your health. Expecting your return, we commit you to the protection of God.

From Whitehall, 9th March, 1607.

(b)

HENRY, PRINCE OF WALES, TO LADY ARBELLA STUART.

Holograph. Harl. MSS., v. 6986, f. 76.

March, 1607.

MADAME,—The queen's Majesty hath commanded me to signify to your ladyship that she would have Cutting, your ladyship's servant, to send to the King

* Guido.

of Denmark, because he desired the queen that she would send him one that could play upon the lute. I pray your ladyship to send him back with an answer as soon as your ladyship can.

I desire you to commend me to my Lord and my Lady Shrewsbury ; and also not to think me anything the worse scrivener that I write so ill, but to suspend your judgment till you come hither, when you shall find me as I was ever,

Your ladyship's most loving cousin and assured friend,

HENRY.

(*Indorsed*, "A Madame Arbelle, ma cousine.")

(c)

THE LADY ARBELLA STUART TO QUEEN ANNE.

Holograph. Harl. MSS., 6896, f. 78 ; rough draft in v. 7003, f. 37.

Sheffield, March 15, 1607.

May it please your most royal Majesty :

I have received your Majesty's most gracious and favourable token which you have been pleased to send me as an assurance both of your Majesty's pardon, and of my remaining in your gracious good opinion, the which how great contentment it hath brought unto me I find no words to express.

And therefore most humbly addressing myself to the answer of your Majesty's pleasure, signified in your letter touching my licensing my servant Cutting to depart from me for the service of his Majesty of Denmark, I shall beseech of his Majesty to conceive,

that although I know well how far more easy it is for so great a prince to command the best musicians in the world than for me to recover one not inferior to this, yet do I most willingly embrace this occasion whereby I may in effect give some demonstration of my unfeigned disposition to apply myself ever unto all your royal pleasures. And therefore most willingly referring my said servant to your Majesty's good pleasure, and most humbly beseeching that myself may still remain in your gracious and princely favour and protection, I will in all humility kiss your Majesty's royal hand. And ever beseech Almighty God to grant unto your Majesty all honourable happiness that may be imagined, etc.

ARBELLA STUART.

(d)

THE LADY ARBELLA STUART TO HENRY, PRINCE OF WALES.

Harl. MSS., v. 7003, f. 38.

Sheffield, March 15, 1607.

May it please your Highness :

I have received your Highness's letter, wherein I am let to understand that her royal Majesty is pleased to command Cutting, my servant, for the King of Denmark, concerning the which your Highness requested my answer to her Majesty, the which I have accordingly returned by this bearer, referring him to her Majesty's good pleasure and disposition. And although I may have seen cause to be sorry to

have lost the contentment of a good lute, yet must I confess that I am right glad to have found any occasion whereby to express to her Majesty and your Highness the humble respect which I owe you, and the readiness of my disposition to be conformed to your good pleasures, wherein I have placed a great part of the satisfaction which my heart can receive.

I have, according to your Highness's direction, signified unto my uncle and aunt of Shrewsbury your Highness's gracious vouchsafing to remember them, who with all duty present their most humble thanks, and say they will ever pray for your Highness's most happy prosperity. And yet my uncle saith he carrieth the same spleen in his heart towards your Highness that he hath ever done. And so praying the Almighty for your Highness's felicity, I humbly cease.

From Sheffield, the 15th of March, 1607.

Your Highness's most humble and dutiful

ARBELLA STUART.

(e)

LADY ARBELLA STUART TO THE KING OF DENMARK.

Draft. Harl. MSS., v. 7003, f. 37.*

1607.

AUGUSTISSIME AC POTENTISSIME REX,—Pauci dies præterlapsi sunt, postquam superiores meas ad Augus-

* There is a rough draft of another Latin letter to the King from Theobalds, dated July, 1607.

tissimam Majestatem vestram dederam, cum celsissimæ ac serenissimæ Reginæ nostræ allatæ ad me litteræ sunt, ex quibus intellexi, cupere Majestatem vestram ut famulus meus Thomas Cotting, qui has nunc (nisi Deus non vult) perfert, ad eam mitteretur, ut ejus opera inter pulsandæ cytheræ peritos vestri uti posset. Ac profecto quanquam et is mihi gratus inter paucos illius artis peritos existat, et non nesciam, in fortunâ Regiâ, ad quam potissimum omnia exquisitissima studia, vota, ingenia, et opera tum in hac tum in cæteris artibus expeditissime diriguntur, facilius esse, eorum qui maxime in quavis arte excellunt, numerum adhibere, quam modum, tamen cum nihil ipsa diligentius investigaverim, aut ambitiosius, quam eam occasionem quæ mihi experimendi officii mei atque animi in obsequium vestræ Majestatis addictissimi facultatem suppeditaret, hanc demum, quantulamcunque opportunè se offerentem, libentissime arripui, et quem, exquisitissimis magistris traditum, et in meam gratiam in hac arte instructum, haud cum levi, tum artis, tum morum ingenuitate, commendative accessi, hunc eundem haud levius (modo id cum vestræ Majestatis venia fiat) commendatum vestræ Majestati mitto, missura (si æque possem) Orpheum aut Apollinem.

Precor summum Deum ut ad animi sententiam, non in choro tantum et aulâ, sed in vitâ etiam et regno, omnia Majestati vestræ consonent ac conspirent. [Dat. die 1607.]

(f)

(Translation of above.)

MOST AUGUST AND POTENT KING,—But few days had passed after I had despatched my last letter to your most august Majesty, when I received a letter from our most high and serene Queen, from which I learned that your Majesty desired my servant, Thomas Cotting—who now (God willing) will convey this letter to you—to be sent to you, that you might employ him among your harp-players.

There are, indeed, few professors of this art who please me as he does ; and I am not ignorant that, in the service of a King (to which most of all, with the least hindrance, are directed all the best cares and wishes, the choicest intelligence, and effort, as well in this as in other arts), the difficulty is not to obtain a crowd of those who most excel in any art, but to limit their number.

Yet, notwithstanding this, since I have sought nothing with more diligence or eagerness than an occasion of expressing my zeal and devotion to your Majesty, I have most joyfully seized this, slight as it is, which at last opportunely offers itself. This man has been sent to the best masters, and trained in this art to my pleasure, and came to me with no slight recommendation for the excellence as well of his character as of his art. Him I commend no less (with your Majesty's permission), and send to your Majesty, to whom I would send, were it as possible, Orpheus or Apollo.'

I pray the most high God that all things, not only among your musicians and in the court, but also in your life and kingdom, may be in harmony with your Majesty's desires.

G.

No. 1.

LADY ARBELLA TO THE EARL OF SALISBURY.

Holograph. Cecil Papers, v. 134, f. 94.

May 2, 1606.

MY GOOD LORD,—I lately moved his Majesty to grant to me such fees as may arise out of his seal, which the bishops are by the law to use as I am informed. I am enforced to make some suit for my better support and maintenance, as heretofore I have found you, my good lord, so I must earnestly entreat your lordship to further this my suit, and therein I shall rest much bound to you. Sir Walter Cope hath been requested to recommend this my suit to your lordship, for that I thought his mediation would be less troublesome to you than if I solicited your lordship myself, or by some other my friends. I pray God grant your lordship long and happy life.

Your lordship's much bound

ARBELLA STUART.

No. 2.

TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

Sloane MSS., v. 4164, f. 193.

Dec. 2, 1607.

GOOD UNCLE,—I writ to you within these forty-eight hours by Mr. Stanley, and am very glad of the occasion of so good a messenger and so honourable and kind a letter as I received from your lordship by Mr. Parker to scribble unto you again, and that a great deal the rather because this short time and calm climate affording none, you have given me the best theme to write of, which is thanks for your not checking my importunity in begging venison, but endeavouring to satisfy it in better sort than I presumed of, for the worst hind of many, I am sure, in any of your grounds should be very welcome hither; and then if it be possible to have so good a one as your lordship wishes, you know what a delicate it will be to them that shall have it, and how welcome such a testimony of your love and favour shall be to me. And beseeching your lordship to remember me humbly to my aunt for honour and happiness, as for your lordship I will pray, I take leave.

From Whitehall, the 2nd of December, 1607.

Your lordship's niece,

ARBELLA STUART.

No. 3.

TO THE COUNTESS.

Sloane MSS., v. 4164, f. 194.

Undated ; probably March, 1608.

MADAME,—I humbly thank you for your letters. I deferred to write to you till I had taken my leave here, and then I intended to have sent one to your ladyship and my uncle, to deliver my humble thanks for so many kindnesses and favours as I have received at this time of my being here from you both, and to take a more mannerly farewell than I could at our parting ; but your ladyship hath prevented my intention in sending this bearer, by whom, in these few lines, I will perform that duty (not compliment) of acknowledging myself much bound to you for every particular kindness and bounty of yours at this time, which reviveth the memory of many more former ; and to assure you that none of my cousins, your daughters, shall be more ready to do you service than I. The money your ladyship sends my Lady Pembroke * shall be safely and soon delivered her. And praying for your ladyship's happiness, honour, and comfort in as great measure as yourself can wish, I humbly take my leave.

From Hardwick, this Monday.

Your ladyship's most affectionate niece to command,

ARBELLA STUART.

* Mary Talbot, the countess's daughter.

I pray your ladyship commend me to my uncle Charles,* my aunt, and my two pretty cousins. I think I shall many times wish myself set by my cousin Charles at meals.

No. 4.

LADY ARBELLA TO CHARLES GOSLING.

Catalogue of Stowe MSS., British Museum ; also printed in Report of Hist. MSS. Commission, 8th Report.

CHARLES GOSLING,—Upon the good conceit I have of you for a just, well-meaning man and well wishing to me, I have thought fit to write you this letter, desiring you to call to remembrance all you can, and take your son's help wherein he knoweth, or both or either of you think you can learn out anything of the contract betwixt my cousin William Candish [*Cavendish, the eldest son of Charles*] and Mrs. Margett Chaterton. That write to me so soon as you can, and if you can believe I have power to do you or your son good, expect my remembrance of what you do herein. And so I commit you to God.

From the court at Whitehall, this 28th of March, 1609.

Your loving friend,

ARBELLA STUART.†

* Sir Charles Cavendish, the old countess's third son by Sir William Cavendish, married Catherine, Lady Ogle, and had three sons by her. The eldest died in infancy. Arabella refers to the two younger, William and Charles.

† Signature and postscript only in Arabella's hand.

Remember the old buck of Sherland, and the roasted tench I and other good company eat so saourly (*sic*) at your house, and if thou be still a good fellow and an honest man, show it now, or be hanged.

No. 5.

TO THE EARL OF SALISBURY.

Holograph. State Papers, James I., Dom., v. xlvii. f. 108, MS.

August, 1609.

MY HONOURABLE GOOD LORD,—I yield to you humble thanks for the honourable care it hath pleased you to have of me, both in the election and effecting of this suit, which shall ever bind me to humble thankfulness towards your lordship, for whose long life, honour, and happiness I pray to the Almighty, and rest,

Your lordship's much bounden and assured friend,

ARBELLA STUART.

No. 6.

To the same.

Holograph. State Papers, James I., Dom., v. l. f. 69, MS.

Dec. 17, 1609.

MY HONOURABLE GOOD LORD,—I having been a long suitor, as your lordship knows, whose honourable favour, I humbly thank you, I have found from time to time, I am now advised by some friends of mine, of good judgment and experience, to procure the Great Seal of England to my book. Both because it will be

a furtherance to a speedier despatch of this suit in Ireland, and that this business must be done and executed by deputation, which cannot be done without the Great Seal were first obtained, with which also the book may receive alteration and a check there. Therefore I humbly beseech your lordship that, by your favour, on which only I rely, I may obtain the Great Seal of England to the book herewith presented to your lordship. For whose honour and happiness I pray, and so humbly take leave.

From Puddle Wharfe, the 17th of December, 1609.

Your lordship's much bounden poor friend,

ARABELLA STUART.

No. 7.

To the same.

Holograph. State Papers, James I., Dom., v. l. f. 69, MS.

Dec., 1609.

Where your lordship willed me to set down a note of those three things wherein I lately moved you, they are these : The first, that I am willing to return back his Majesty's gracious grant to me of the wines in Ireland, so as your lordship will take order for the paying of my debts when I shall upon my honour inform you truly what they are. The next, that his Majesty will be graciously pleased to augment my allowance in such sort as I may be able to live in such honour and countenance hereafter as may stand with his Majesty's honour and my own comfort. And lastly, that where his Majesty doth now allow me

a diet, that he will be pleased, instead thereof, to let me have one thousand pounds yearly. Some other things I will presume to entreat your lordship's like favour in that they may stand me in stead; but, for that they are such as I trust your lordship will think his Majesty will easily grant, I will now forbear to set them down.

Your lordship's poor friend,

ARBELLA STUART.

No. 8.

LADY ARABELLA'S PROGRESS.*

From "Longleat Papers," No. 5, by the Rev. Canon J. E. Jackson, F.S.A.

Extracts from Mr. Hugh Crompton's Book of Accounts.

An accompt of all soche monies have bin recd. by me for my Ladyes use sins the 22th of August.

1609—	£	s.	d.
Sept. 28. From my Lo. Shrousbury, which was given my La. at Wingfield	100	00	00
Oct. 24. Oute of th'excheqr for one q ^r ter due at Michalms, 1609	400	00	00
Dec. 29. Oute of th'excheqr for a q ^r ter due at Christmas followinge	400	00	00
1610—			
March 26. Oute of th'excheqr for another q ^r ter due at La. Day followinge	400	00	00
June 7. Received from Andrew Clayton, w ^{ch} he retorned to London, paid heer by one Mr. Allen, a vinegar-maker	080	00	00

* The original spelling has here been preserved, in order to show the manner in which Crompton spelt and kept his accounts.

1609—	£	s.	d.
June 26. Moreover, received oute of th'excheqr for one q ^r ter due at Mydsomer paste	400	00	00
July 6. Received from S ^r Thomas Reresby in London for one whole year's rent Issuinge out of Denaby* due the vi th June paste	060	00	00
July 20. Received from S ^r Persivall Willughby for one year's rent charge Issuinge oute of Wil- lughby upon Woules, due the xx th of July paste	200	00	00
Sept. 29. Received also from Andrew Clayton, w ^{ch} was retorned to London, and paid ther by Mr. Allen aforemencioned	120	00	00
	<hr/> £2160 00 00		

Hereafter insueth th' accompt of all soche monies I have
layed forth for my Ladies occasions sins the 22th of August,
1609.

From Whitehall.

1609—
Tuesday, Aug. 22. Imprimis g'iven this daye at the garden gate
at Whitehall to the poore as my Ladie tooke hir coache to
come into country, 3s. 4d.

St. Albans.

She supped and slept. Soper, £2 8s. 6d.; breakfast, £2 11s. 10d.;
horse mete for 20 horses, £2 2s. 6d.; hostellers, 2s. 0d.;
musitions, 10s.; poore at the gates, 10s.; ringers, 10s.;
chamblens, 5s.; my La. Arrondale's † coachm., £1 0s. 0d.;
a trompeter, 2s. 6d.; the poore on the way back to St.
Albans and Toddington, 4s. 11d.

Toddington, near Dunstable, co. Beds.

[This house had belonged to Lord Cheney, who died in 1587.
His estate devolved to his wife, a daughter of Thomas, Lord

* Denaby was a manor near Thribergh (between Rotherham
and Doncaster, co. York) which belonged to the Reresby
family (Hunter's "South Yorkshire," vol. ii. p. 41).

† Lady Arundel (see Part I. vol. i. p. 221).

Wentworth, of Nettlestead, and was inherited by her relatives. In 1608 Toddington had been visited by King James (Lysons's "Bedfordshire," p. 143).]

At Toddington.

Friday, Aug. 25, 1609. Given among the officers in my Ladie Cheynee's howse. Imprimis : to the clarke of the Kytchen, £1 os. od. ; 2 cooks, £1 os. od. ; 2 boyes in the Kytchen, 5s. ; 2 in the scullery, 5s. ; the butler, 10s. ; his boy, 2s. 6d. ; the pantler, 10s. ; yeoman of the wine-cellar, 10s. ; porter, 10s. ; groomes of the great chamber, £1 os. od. ; groomes man of the chamber, 5s. ; landry woman, 10s. ; the baker, 10s. ; to a woman wayted on the chamber, 10s. ; groom of the stable, 10s.

Northampton.

Sat. 26th. At Northampton. To Sir James Croft's * footman that came with my Ladie from Toddington to Northampton, 10s.

Given to the boy at Northampton that made y^e speeche before the Kinge, 10s.

Prestwould (27th August).

[Near Loughborough, co. Leicester, then the seat of Sir William Skipwith.]

Monday, 28. P^d S^r Wm.'s coachman for bringing my Ladie to Nottingham, £1 os. od.

Mansfield.

For ale and cakes at the alehouse beyond Nottingham, 4s. od.

To my La. Bowes' coachman for coming to meet my La. at Mansfield, £1 os. od.

For my Lady Bowes' coachhorses' meat at Mansfield attending my La. coming there, 1s. ; the schoolmaster at M. presenting certain verses to my La., 6s. od.

* See p. 12.

Glapwell.

Mending the spring tree of the coach at Glapwell, 6*d*.

3½ yards of Crimson baize for a petticoat for my La., at 3*s*. 4*d*. a yard, 11*s*. 8*d*.

Walton Hall, Chesterfield.

[Belonged at this time to the Foljambes, but sold by Sir Francis F. (created baronet in 1622) in 1633. It was occupied in 1609 by Lady Bowes—Isabel, daughter of Sir Christopher Wray, Kt., Lord Chief Justice of England, who married, first, Godfrey Foljambe; secondly, Sir William Bowes, of Barnard Castle, Yorks; and thirdly, 1617, Lord Darcy. Walton is now a farmhouse, but must have been much larger in Arabella's time, as Mary Queen of Scots and her retinue were lodged there one night (see Hunter's "South Yorkshire," vol. ii. p. 59).]

Thurs., Aug. 31, 1609. To the officers sent from the Maior and Brethren of Chesterfield with a present to my La. to Walton, £1 0*s*. 0*d*.

Paid for hay for the ould coach mare 3 days at Chesterfield, staying there to be dressed of a foote she was pricked, 1*s*. 6*d*.

Four shoes for "Bay Briton,"* do. the spotted nag, do. for "Bay Fenton," do. the sumpter horse, 1*s*. each.

Delivered to the Lady Bowes' steward to be distributed in the house at my La. coming thence, £6 13*s*. 4*d*.

To my Lord of Rutland's musitions, £1 0*s*. 0*d*.

To Sheffield.

Sat., Sept. 2. To the poore of Chesterfield as my La. passed through to Sheffield, £2 0*s*. 0*d*.

Sir Peter Fretchville his keeper for a stag killed in Staly† Park, sent to my La. at Sheffield, £1 10*s*. 0*d*.

To Mr. Tuke for a sermon he made at Sheffield by my Ladies comānd, £2 0*s*. 0*d*.

To Sir Charles Cavendish's musition, £1 0*s*. 0*d*.

* No doubt one of these is the bay gelding Arabella gave her uncle Gilbert after her disgrace (see p. 242).

† Stavley Park, four miles east of Chesterfield.

Given among some poore wymen, my Lady hunting a stag in Hansworth * Park, 1s.

To a poore woman bringing my Lady a dish of wardens [warden pears] from Sheffield, 2s.

To another bringing plums, 10s.

Sept. 8. To my La. Pembroke's † bow bearer £1 os. od.

Bawtry.

Sept. 9. Among certen poore at Beautrye that daie my Ladie dranke at Mr. Richardson's, going into Lincolnshire, 4s.

Stockwith.

[Here she reached the river Trent and the county of Lincoln.]

To 3 men that mended the ways for the coach short of Stockwith half a mile, 2s. 6d.

Melwood Park.

[South of Epworth, in the district known as the Isle of Axholme, which in 1609 was a large tract of level and nearly black soil, undrained, but containing fine hunting-ground in the shape of woods and islands of dryer ground. The owners of the park under James I. were the Stanhopes of Grimston, Yorks. (Hunter's "South Yorkshire," vol. ii. pp. 147, 153), but Mr. John Cavenish had, in the time of Henry VIII., received the grant at Melwood of a Carthusian monastery, and made it into a "goodly manor-house." Arabella's host seems to have been one Sir George St. Paul.]

Sept. 9. For a boat to pass the stuff [baggage] in the coach from Beautry to Melwood by water in the night, 3s. 6d.

Given a man of Mr. Northes came to guide the gentlewymen and horses that night to Melwood, 2s. 6d.

For a coach horse bought of Sir Gervase Clifton, £20.

* A house built by the Earl of Shrewsbury on the edge of Sheffield Park.

† Mary Talbot, daughter of Gilbert and wife of the Earl of Pembroke (see Part I. vol. i. p. 132, etc.).

Gave Needham my Lo. Shrewsbury's man for a packet of letters he brought from Welbecke * to Melwood, 5s.

Given a keeper brought my La. a stag from S^r Edward Swifte † to Melwood, £1 os. od.

THE RETURN JOURNEY.

Sept. 13. To watermen that rowed my La. in a boat from Melwood to Stockwith, £1 os. od.

To those that mended the highway betwixt Melwood and Stockwith, 13s.

To the poore att Melwood as my La. came away, 13s. 4d.

Amongst other poore by my La. comānd betwixt Melwood and Worksoppe, 2s. 2d.

Worksop, Notts.

[Worksop Priory granted at the dissolution to Francis, son of George, fourth Earl of Shrewsbury.]

Sept. 14. Given a mayde brought my La. a present from Sir Bryan Lassells † to Worsoppe, 10s.

For certen spices bought by my La. comānd at Worksoppe, 4s. 9d.

Among the servants that wayted at Worksoppe that night my La. lay there, £5 os. od.

Aston.

[A few miles east of Sheffield, then the seat of John, Lord Darcy, who died 1635. The house was burnt down in the last century.]

Sept. 16. At my Lord Darsey's. The servants, £6 16s. 6d. ; poore at gate, 6s. 6d.

Given to a footman of the Lord Darsey's came to guide part of the way that day to Chatsworth, 10s. od.

* Belonging to Arabella's uncle Charles Cavendish.

† Sir E. Swift and Sir Bryan Lascelles had been both knighted by James I. at Belvoir, 1603.

To two guides more that same day on the moors to Chatsworth, 6s.

To a farier for bludding and drenching Freake's nagg sicke of the staggars, 3s.

For mending the sompter saddle and long rein to lead him, 2s.

For the sompters and 6 men attending the same from Walton to Buxtone lying shorte one night. Their charges spent of themselves and their horses came to 9s. 6d.

Chatsworth.

At Chatsworth, Sunday, Sept. 17, 1609. Given to the clerk of the kytchen, 10s. ; to 3 cookes, £1 10s. 0d. ; 2 kytchen boys, 5s. ; the butler, 10s. ; the usher of the hall, 10s. ; Mr. Dove, 10s. ; the porter, 10s. ; the musitions, 10s. ; 2 groomes of the greate chamber, £1 0s. 0d. ; to one that attended my La. chamber, 10s. ; 3 poore folks on the way, 1s.

Buxton.

For a man of Mr. Cavendish's came to guide us to Buxton, 5s.

For Mr. Henry Cavendish's 4 coach horses at Buxton from Sunday till tuesday the 19th. Two nights at 6d. a horse a nighte, 4s.

For 5 strikes and a pecke of pease and oats for them at 2s. 8d. a strike, 14s.

For the coachman and his man's dyett for 4 meales at 6d. a peece a meal, 4s.

Sept. 19. The coachman in reward for coming from Chatsworth to Buxton, 10s.

Paid for ale sent for by my La. comānd from Tidswell to Buxton, 3s.

Paid for the men's dyetts ther that came before with the sompters a day to Buxton, 5s. 6d.

Gave him that kept the well there, £1 0s. 0d.

Sept. 20. To his man, 6s. ; to 2 wymen attended my La. at the well, £1 0s. 0d.

Given among the poore at Buxton on our coming away, 13s. 4d.

At Sheffield.

Paid 2 guides sent by my Lo. of Shrewsbury to conduct my La. on the moors from Buxton to Sheffield, 12s.

To the ringers at Sheffield on passing through, 5s.

To my Lo. of Pembroke's coachman for bringing my La. part of the way from Buxton to Sheffield, her owne coatche breaking on the way, 10s.

Paid for a roape the same time to bind the coatche, 10d.

Paid for ale when my La. stayed to drinke on the way betwixt Buxton and Sheffield, 1s. 1d.

Given to certen laborers mended the wayes that day on the mores, 5s.

Sept. 23. Sente Sr Geo. St Poll * by his manne Alexander Hayward for a coatche horse he sent my La. to Sheffield, £20; and to the same manne for his paines in bringinge the horse, £1.

P^d for mending the coatche at Sheffield, 10s.

Alsoe for the harnes, 2s. 6d.

Given in reward to a man of Mrs. Digbie's brought my La. certen preserves to Sheffield, 2s. 6d.

Sept. 25. Given the gardiner at Sheffield for certen nosegaies he gave my La. there, 5s.

And to a woman wayted on the gentlewymen's chamber there, 5s.

To a piper there, 5s.

To a poore woman gave my La. a petition in her coatche the day she came thence to Roughford [Rufford], 10s. 0d.

Alsoe to a man brought and del^d my La. a pair of small sheeres the same time in her coatche, 5s.

Rufford.†

[Two miles south of Ollerton, co. Notts. This abbey had been granted to George, Earl of Shrewsbury, and passed by his marriage with Mary Talbot to Sir George Savile.]

* Sir George St. Paul and Henry Yelverton (see her visit to the Yelvertons, p. 236) joined Arabella in her successful petition for the sale of wines and usquebaugh in Ireland, granted March 31, 1610 (Part I. vol. i. p. 236).

† Here Arabella's parents were married.

Sept. 25. Given among certen poore at Edelstowe [Edwin-stowe] as my La. came with my La. of Shrowsbury to Roughford, 5s.

Sept. 26. Given amongst Mrs. Markham's * servants at Roughford the night my La. lay there, £5 os. 0d.

Sept. 28. Given a man of Sir Richard Harpur's † brought my La. a letter and certen wrytings in a box to Wingfield, 10s. 0d.

Wingfield. ‡

[Eleven miles from Chesterfield on the road to Derby, one of the Shrowsbury family seats.]

Sept. 28. To the kytchen amongst the cooks, £3 6s. 8d.; the wardrobe, £1 os. 0d.; the pantler and butler, £1 os. 0d.; 2 ushers in the hall, £1 os. 0d.; the yeomen of the celler, 10d.; 2 groomes of the grete chamber, £1 os. 0d.; 2 wayted on my La. chamber, £1 os. 0d.; the porter, 10s.; grooms of the stable, £1 os. 0d.

Through Derby.

Given among the poore of the towne of Derby as my La. passed that way, £5 os. 0d.

To Tayler a caryer met my La. in Derby, and her letters from London, 2s. 0d.

Given a poore woman on the waye betweene Derby and Quarne, os. 6d.

Quarndon House, near Loughborough.

[At that time and still the seat of the Farnham family. A Mr. F. of that day was an old gentleman-pensioner of Queen Elizabeth.]

* George Markham, Esquire, father of Sir Thomas Markham, an officer in the Civil Wars, lived at an old hall, still standing at Ollerton, two miles north of Rufford.

† One of the Justices of Common Pleas.

‡ Part I. vol. i. p. 67.

Sept. 29. Att Mr. Farnham's.

Among his servaunts the night my La. laye there, £5 os. od.

Paid for ale my La. dranke in going to Harborow, 1s. od.

Paid for my La. and her companies one night at Harborow, £5 os. od.

Market Harborough.

Sept. 30. Horsmet ther for 26 horses one night, £2 9s. 7d.

For my Lord of Shrowsburyes lighter [litter] men and their horses staying by my La. comānd 2 nights and 1 day at Wellingbrow, 19s. 6d.

Easton Manduit.

[Near Wellingborough, the seat at that time of Sir Christopher Yelverton, Kt., one of the judges of the Court of King's Bench, who died 1611.]

Oct. 2, 1609. Att Mr. Justice Yelverton's.

Given to a man of his to guide my La. to my Lord of Kent's* (at Wrest Park), £0 6s. od.

Among certen poore at Mr. Conquest's Lodge† the day my La. dyned there, £0 2s. od.

Wrest Park, near Silsoe, Beds.

Oct. 4. Paid the lytter men's charge lying 2 nights at the towne at Wrest, as may appeare by their bill, 13s. 2d.

The lytter men in reward for their paines in coming along with my La. from Wingfield to Wrest, £3 os. od.

To the coatchman had his legg broke, £2 os. od.

Toddington.

Oct. 9. Given a footman brought worde to my La. to St. Alban's that my La. Arrondale was brought bedde of a son, £0 10s. od.

* Part I. vol. i. p. 154.

† Houghton Park, *alias* Dame Ellensbury Park, near Ampthill, co. Bedford, occupied by Sir Edmund Conquest.

St. Alban's.

Oct. 9. Soper and dyner at St. Alban's, £8 15s. 6d.

Hors met for xx^{tie} of my La. and x. of Sir Henry Grays,
£2 9s. 4d.

[The whole expenses of the progress were £323 18s. *od.*, besides a few bills that followed, and interest of money borrowed for the journey on the security of jewels.]

A careful study of the above paper supplies several fresh details to the student of Arabella's life and character. Her kindness to the poor, her love of music, her generosity and thoughtfulness for her dependents, as is shown by the constant entries of rewards and tips; while her popularity in her own county is attested by the way in which she was everywhere received—at Sheffield by the ringing of bells, elsewhere by gifts of flowers and fruit. At the same time, it is easy to imagine how small her resources were compared to the claims upon them, when one reads of the incessant demands for gratuities and the system of tipping the whole household at every place where she rested.

H.

No. 1.

Harl. MSS., v. 7003, f. 59.

Feb. 20, 1609-10.

To the Right Honourable my most singular good
Lords, the Lords of his Majesty's most Honourable
Privy Council.

May it please your good Lordships :

Since it is your pleasure, which to me shall
always stand for law, that I should truly relate under

my hand those passages which have been between the noble Lady Arbella and myself, I do here, in these rugged lines, truly present the same to your Lordships' favourable censure, that thereby his most excellent Majesty may, by your Lordships, be fully satisfied of my duty and faithful allegiance (which shall ever be a spur to me to expose my life and all my fortunes to the extremest dangers for his Highness's service), [*and*] that I will never attempt anything which I shall have certain foreknowledge will be displeasing unto him.

I do therefore humbly confess that when I conceived that noble lady might, with his Majesty's good favour, and no just offence, make her choice of any subject within this kingdom, which conceit was begotten in me upon a general report, after her ladyship last being called before your Lordships, that it might be ; myself being a younger brother, and sensible of mine own good, unknown to the world, of mean estate, not born to challenge anything by my birthright, and therefore my fortunes to be raised by mine own endeavours, and she a lady of great honour and virtue, and, as I thought, of great means, I did plainly and honestly endeavour lawfully to gain her in marriage, which is God's ordinance common to all, assuming myself, if I could effect the same with his Majesty's most gracious favour and liking (without which I resolved never to proceed), that thence would grow the first beginning of all my happiness ; and therefore I boldly intruded myself into her ladyship's chamber in the court on Candlemas Day* last, at what time I

* February 2, the Feast of the Purification.

imparted my desire unto her ; which was entertained, but with this caution on either part, that both of us resolved not to proceed to any final conclusion without his Majesty's most gracious favour and liking first obtained ; and this was our first meeting. After that we had a second meeting at Mr. Buggs his house, in Fleet Street ; and then a third at Mr. Baynton's ; at both which we had the like conference and resolution as before. And the next day save one after the last meeting, I was convented before your Lordships, when I did then deliver as much as now I have written ; both then and now protesting before God, upon my duty and allegiance to his most excellent Majesty, and as I desire to be retained in your Lordships' good opinions, there is neither promise of *marriage, contract, or any other engagement whatsoever between her ladyship and myself, nor ever was any marriage* by me or her intended, unless his Majesty's gracious favour and approbation might have been first gained therein, which we resolved to obtain before we would proceed to any final conclusion. Whereof I humbly beseech your Lordships to inform his Majesty that by your good means, joined to the clearness of an unspotted conscience and a loyal heart to his Highness, I may be acquitted in his just judgment from all opinion of any disposition in me to attempt anything distasteful or displeasing to his Majesty, as one well knowing that the just wrath and disfavour of my sovereign will be my confuison, whereas his gracious favour and goodness towards me may be the advancement of my poor fortunes. And thus, my

Lords, according to your commands I have made a true relation of what was required, humbly referring the favourable construction thereof to your Lordships, having, for the further hastening of the truth, and ever to bind me thereunto, hereafter subscribed my name the 20th of February, 1609 [10].

WILLIAM SEYMOUR.

No. 2.

Draft. Sloane MSS., v. 4161, f. 39.

(*Indorsed*, "Lady Arbella Stuart to the Lords of the Council.")

Early, before her marriage.

May it please your Lordships to give me leave to be an humble suitor to you that, whereas upon his Majesty's pleasure I was restrained of my liberty, and that I have presumed to prefer my most humble petition to his Majesty to be restored unto his gracious good favour again, which is my greatest comfort on earth, your Lordships will be pleased to prefer my said petition to his most gracious Majesty's hands. And if your Lordships will also vouchsafe your favourable intercession of my offence, and be a means to his Majesty on my behalf, I shall be infinitely bound to pray for your honour and prosperity, and remain humbly,

At your Lordships' commandments.

[Unsigned.]

No. 3.

WARRANT TO SIR THOMAS PARRY [at Lambeth].

Harl. MSS., v. 7003, f. 111; also copy in Sloane MSS.,
v. 4161, f. 28.

After our very hearty commendations. Whereas it is thought fit that the Lady Arbella should be restrained of her liberty, and choice is made of you to receive her and lodge her in your house;—These are therefore to give you notice thereof, and to require you to provide convenient lodging for her to remain under your charge and custody, with one or two of her women to attend her, without access of any other person unto her until his Majesty's pleasure be further known. And this shall be unto you a sufficient warrant.

From the court at Whitehall, this 9th of July, 1610.

Your very loving friends,

R. CANT.	J. SUFFOLKE.
T. ELLESMERE.	R. SALISBURY.
NOTTINGHAM.	E. WORCESTER.

(*Indorsed*, "To our very loving friend, Sir Thomas Parry, Knt., Chancellor of his Majesty's Duchy of Lancaster.")

No. 4.

Draft. Harl. MSS., v. 7003, f. 71.

(*Indorsed*, "My lady's letter to my Lord of Shrewsbury.")

July, 1610.

If it please your lordship, there are divers of my servants with whom I thought never to have parted whilst I lived, and none that I am willing to part with. But since I am taken from them, and know not how to maintain either myself or them, being utterly ignorant how it will please his Majesty to deal with me, I were better to put them away now than towards winter. Your lordship knows the greatness of my debts, and my unableness to do for them either now or at Michaelmas. I beseech your lordship let me know what hope you can give me of his Majesty's favour, without which I and all mine must live in great discomfort, and make me so much bound to you, as both yourself and by means of any that you take to be my friends or pity me, to labour the reobtaining of his Majesty's favour to me. So humbly thanking your lordship for the care it pleaseth you to have of me and mine, and for your honourable offer, I humbly cease.

From Lambeth, the 16th of July, 1610.

The poor prisoner, your niece,

ARBELLA SEYMAURE.

P.S.—The bay gelding and the rest are at your lordship's commandment.

No. 5.

ARBELLA'S REQUEST TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY
WITH RESPECT TO HER SERVANTS.

Draft. Harl. MSS., v. 7003, f. 74.

July, 1610.

I acknowledge myself much bound to your lordship for your care in disposing of my servants, but I cannot guess what to do with any of them till I know how his Majesty is inclined towards me. Therefore I again very humbly and earnestly beseech your lordship to move his Majesty on his return to be gracious unto me. That according to his Majesty's answer and disposition towards me, I may take order for my servants or anything else concerning me. So with humble thanks I take leave.

From Lambeth, the 19th of July.

P.S.—I pray your lordship remember me humbly to my aunt.

No. 6.

Harl. MSS., v. 7003, f. 92 ; Sloane MSS., v. 4161, f. 40.

(*Indorsed*, "The Lady Arbella her petition to the Lords for the removal of her servants to some better air.")

August, 1610.

To the Right Honourable the Lords of his Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council.

Right Honourable and my very good Lords :

I am constrained to trouble you rather than be guilty of the danger of life wherein Hugh Crompton

and Edward Reeves, two of my servants, lately committed to the Marshalsea for my cause, remain. I am informed divers near that prison, and in it, are lately dead, and divers others sick of contagious and deadly diseases. Wherefore I humbly beseech your honours to commiserate their distress, and consider that they are servants, and accountable for divers debts and reckonings, which, if they should die, would be a great prejudice to me and others. And therefore I humbly beseech you to move unto his Majesty my most humble suit, and theirs, that it will please his Majesty they may be removed to some other healthful air.

ARBELLA SEYMAURE.

Millbrook, August 10, 1610.

No. 7.

State Papers, James I., Dom., v. lvi., p. 56.

[*July, 1610.*]

To the Right Honourable the Lords of his Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council.

Right Honourable and my very good Lords :

I humbly beseech you give me leave to become an humble suitor to you to let his Majesty understand my hearty sorrow for his Majesty's displeasure. And that it will please your Honours to become intercessors to his Majesty for me, whose error I assuredly hope his Majesty of his own gracious disposition will, by your good means, rather pardon than any further expiate with imprisonment or other

affliction. Which and more, if it were to do his Majesty service or honour, I should endure with alacrity ; but this is very grievous, especially as a sign of his Majesty's displeasure, on whose favour all my worldly joy as well as fortune dependeth. Which if I may reobtain, all the course of my life hereafter shall testify my dutiful and humble thankfulness.

ARBELLA SEYMAURE.

(*Indorsed*, "Lady Arbella to the Lords, that it will please them to be a means to his Majesty for her.")

No. 8.

DRAFT * OF A PETITION FROM LADY ARBELLA SEYMAURE TO THE LORDS OF THE COUNCIL.

Drafts. Harl. MSS., v. 7003, f. 90, 91 ; Sloane MSS., v. 4161, f. 38.

I humbly beseech your Lordships, now that by examination of all parties the error for which we suffer his Majesty's displeasure must needs appear neither greater nor less than it is, to give me leave to become an humble suitor to your Lordships with the relation thereof to testify unto his Majesty my hearty sorrow for his Majesty's displeasure. Restraint from liberty, comfort and counsel of friends, and all the effects of imprisonment, are in themselves very grievous and

* There is a note in one copy: "Petition to the Council before I writ one to the King." It is possible that these were only drafts of the one in the State Papers (see p. 244).

inflicted as due punishments for greater offences than mine. But that which makes them most heavy to me is that they proceed from his Majesty's displeasure, whose favour was not only my stay and hope, but greatest joy. If our punishment were to do his Majesty service or honour, I should endure imprisonment and my affliction with patience and alacrity; but being inflicted as a sign of his Majesty's displeasure, it is very grievous for us, whose error we hope his Majesty, in his own gracious disposition, will rather pardon than any further expiate with affliction. And by God's grace the whole course of our life hereafter shall testify our dutiful and humble thankfulness.

No. 9.

LADY ARABELLA TO THE QUEEN, WITH THE PETITION
TO THE KING'S MAJESTY ENCLOSED.

State Papers, James I., Dom., v. lvii. p. 118, MS.

October, 1610.

May it please your most excellent Majesty :

I presume to send herewith a copy of my humbly petition to the King's Majesty, whereby your Majesty may perceive (with less trouble than any other relation of mine, as much (in effect) as I can say of the condition of my present estate and hard fortune. Now, to whom may I so fitly address myself with confidence of help and mediation as to your royal person (the mirror of our sex), and being for me, your Majesty's

humble and devoted servant, and in a cause of this nature so full of pity and commiseration, I will wholly rely upon your princely goodness, whom I humbly beseech to vouchsafe to enter into a gracious consideration of the true estate of my case and fortune, and then I nothing doubt but that in the true nobleness of your royal mind your Majesty will be pleased to mediate for me in such sort as in your most princely wisdom and favour the same shall be moved. And I shall always pray for the everlasting honour and felicity of your Majesty with all your royal issue in all things, and will remain for ever

Your Majesty's most humble and dutiful
subject and servant,

ARBELLA SEYMAURE.

On the back of this letter to the queen are three curious remarks,* probably in Arabella's hand—

The loss of thy late sister hath honoured thee with the service of my fair flower.

J'ai perdu ta successeur mais non pas tu.

La perte de ta sœur † te portait l'honneur d'être serviteur de ma belle fleur [repeated three times from †].

* First discovered by Mr. Inderwick ; afterwards copied and corrected by author from the State Papers, with modernized spelling.

No. 10.

PETITION TO THE KING [PROBABLY ENCLOSED IN
THE QUEEN'S OF OCTOBER, 1610].

Draft. Harl. MSS., v. 7003, f. 87.

May it please your most excellent Majesty :

The unfortunate estate whereunto I am fallen by being deprived of your Majesty's presence (the greatest comfort to me on earth), together with the opinion is conceived of your Majesty's displeasure towards me, hath brought as great affliction to my mind as can be imagined. Nevertheless, touching the offence for which I am now punished, I most humbly beseech your Majesty (in your most princely wisdom and judgment) to consider in what a miserable state I had been if I had taken any other course than I did, for my own conscience witnessing before God that I was then the wife of him that now I am, I could never have matched with any other man, but to have lived all the days of my life as an harlot, which your Majesty would have abhorred in any, especially in one who hath the honour (how otherwise unfortunate soever) to have any drop of your Majesty's blood in them. But I will trouble your Majesty no longer, but in all humility attending your Majesty's good pleasure for that liberty (the want whereof depriveth me of all health and all other worldly comfort), I will never forget to pray for your Majesty's most happy prosperity for ever in all things, and so remain

Your Majesty's most humble and faithful
subject and servant.

NO. II.

ONE OF ARABELLA'S PETITIONS TO THE KING,
PROBABLY FROM LAMBETH.

Draft in Harl. MSS., v. 7003, f. 85; and copied clearly by Dr.
Birch, Sloane MSS., v. 4161, f. 35.

Undated.

May it please your most excellent Majesty

To regard with the eyes of your royal and gracious heart the unfortunate estate of me, your Majesty's handmaid, who, knowing your Majesty's gracious favour to her to be the greatest honour, comfort, and felicity that this world can afford, doth now feel any part of the contrary to be the most grievous affliction to her that can be imagined. Whereinsoever your Majesty will say I have offended I will not contest, but in all humility prostrate myself at your Majesty's feet; only I do most humbly on my knees beseech your Majesty to believe that that thought never yet entered into my heart to do anything that might justly deserve any part of your indignation. But if the necessity of my state and fortune, together with my weakness, have caused me to do somewhat not pleasing to your Majesty, most gracious Sovereign, let it be all covered with the shadow of your royal benignity, and pardoned in that heroical mind of yours, which is never closed to those who carry a most loyal heart to your sovereignty, a most sincere and dutiful affection to your person, and that prayeth for the most happy prosperity of your Majesty, our most gracious

queen, and your Royal issue in all things for ever, amongst which number Almighty God, who knoweth the secrets of all hearts, knoweth me to be one who am also.

Your Majesty's most humble, faithful
subject and servant.

NO. 12.

LADY ARBELLA SEYMOUR TO [LADY DRUMMOND].

Harl. MSS., v. 7003, f. 61; Sloane MSS., v. 4161, f. 47.

Probably from Lambeth.

GOOD COUSIN,—I pray you do me the kindness to present this letter of mine in all humility to her Majesty, and with all my most humble and dutiful thanks for the gracious commiseration it pleaseth her Majesty to have of me as I hear to my great comfort. I presume to make suit to her Majesty, because, if it please her Majesty to intercede for me, I cannot but hope to be restored to her Majesty's service and his Majesty's favour, whose just and gracious disposition, I verily think, would have been moved to compassion ere this by the consideration both of the cause, in itself honest and lamentable, and of the honour I have to be so near his Majesty and his in blood, but that it is God's will her Majesty should have a hand in so honourable and charitable a work as to reobtain his Majesty's favour to one that esteemeth it her greatest worldly comfort. So, wishing you all honour and happiness, I take leave, and remain

Your very loving cousin,

A. S.

No. 13.

Harl. MSS., v. 7003, f. 64 ; Sloane MSS., v. 4161, f. 48.

(*Indorsed*, "The Lady Drummond's letter to my lady.")

MADAME,—I received your ladyship's letter, and with it another paper which has just the same words that was in the letter, but your ladyship did not command me to do anything with it, so as I cannot imagine to what use you sent it, always I shall keep it till I know your ladyship's pleasure. Yesterday being Sunday, I could have little time to speak with her Majesty, but this day her Majesty hath seen your ladyship's letter. Her Majesty says that when she gave your ladyship's petition and letter to his Majesty, he did take it well enough, but gave no answer than that "Ye had eaten of the forbidden tree." This was all her Majesty commanded me to say to your ladyship in this purpose, but withal did remember her kindly to your ladyship, and sent you this little token in notice of the continuation of her Majesty's favours to your ladyship. Now, where your ladyship desires me to deal openly and freely with you, I protest I can say nothing on knowledge, for I never spake to any of that purpose but to the queen ; but the wisdom of this state, with the example how some of your quality in the like cause has been used, makes me fear that ye shall not find so easy end to your troubles as ye expect or I wish. This is all I can say, and I should think myself happy if my notions could give better testimony of my truly being your ladyship's

Affectionate friend to do you service,

JANE DRUMMOND.

No. 14

Draft. Harl. MSS., v. 7003, f. 66 ; copy 68 ; and Sloane MSS.,
v. 4161, f. 49.

(*Indorsed*, "To my honourable good cousin, Mrs. Drummond.")

GOOD COUSIN,—I pray you present her Majesty my most humble thanks for the token of the continuance of her Majesty's favour towards me that I received in your letter, which hath so cheered me as I hope I shall be the better able to pass over my sorrow till it please God to move his Majesty's heart to compassion of me, whilst I may thereby assure myself I remain in her Majesty's favour, though all other worldly comforts be withdrawn from me ; and will not cease to pray to the Almighty to reward her Majesty for her gracious regard of me in this distress with all happiness to her royal self and hers. I pray you likewise present her Majesty this piece of my work, which I humbly beseech her Majesty to accept in remembrance of the poor prisoner, her Majesty's most humble servant, that wrought them, in hope those royal hands will vouchsafe to wear them, which till I have the honour to kiss, I shall live in a great deal of sorrow. I must also render you my kindest thanks for your so friendly and freely imparting your opinion of my suit. But whereas my good friends may doubt my said suit will be more long and difficult to obtain than they wish by reason of the wisdom of this state in dealing with others of my quality in the like cause, I say that I never heard nor read of anybody's

case that might be truly and justly compared to this of mine, which, being truly considered, will be found so far differing as there can be no true resemblance made thereof to any others ; and so I am assured that both their Majesties (when it shall please them duly to examine it in their princely wisdoms) will easily discern. And I do earnestly entreat you to move her Majesty to vouchsafe the continuance of her so gracious a beginning on my behalf, and to persuade his Majesty to weigh my cause aright, and then I shall not doubt but speedily to receive that royal grace and favour that my own soul witnesseth I have ever deserved at his hands, and will ever endeavour to deserve of him and his whilst I have breath. And so, with many thanks to yourself for your kind offices, I take leave, and rest

Your very loving cousin,
ARBELLA SEYMAURE.

No. 15.

TO THE LADY DRUMMOND [fragment].

Harl. MSS., v. 7003, f. 70 (Draft unsigned and corrected).

GOOD COUSIN,—I think myself as much beholden to you as if my man had brought me assurance of his Majesty's favours by her Majesty's means, because I find your kindness in remembering me and preventing suspicions. But I cannot rest satisfied till I may know what disaster of mine hindreth his Majesty's

goodness towards me, having such a mediatrix to plead so just and honest a cause as mine. Therefore I pray you with all earnestness let me know freely what hath been done concerning me. So, wishing you all honour and happiness, I take leave.

Yours.

(*Indorsed*, "Two letters by Smith now;" one, no doubt, is that to her husband, in the text.)

No. 16.

Harl. MSS., v. 7003, f. 152; Sloane MSS., v. 4161, f. 46.

Probably March, 1611.

To the Right Honourable the Lord Chief Justice of England and the Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.

MY LORDS,—Whereas I have been long restrained from my liberty, which is as much to be regarded as my life, and am appointed, as I understand, to be removed far from these courts of justice where I ought to be examined, tried, and then condemned or cleared, to remote parts, whose courts I hold unfitted for the trial of my offence: this is to beseech your Lordships to inquire by an Habeas Corpus or other usual form of law what is my fault; and if, upon examination by your Lordships, I shall thereof be justly convicted, let me endure such punishment by your Lordships' sentence as is due to such an offender. And if your Lordships may not or will not of yourselves grant unto me the ordinary relief of a distressed sub-

ject, then I beseech you become humble intercessors to his Majesty that I may receive such benefit of justice as both his Majesty by his oath, those of his blood not excepted, hath promised, and the laws of this realm afford to all others. And though, unfortunate woman (that I am), I should obtain neither, yet I beseech your Lordships retain me in your good opinion, and judge charitably till I be proved to have committed any offence, either against God or his Majesty, deserving so long restraint or separation from my lawful husband. So, praying for your Lordships, I rest

Your afflicted poor suppliant,

A. S.

No. 17.*

A ROYAL WARRANT TO THE BISHOP OF DURHAM,
COMMITTING THE LADY ARBELLA SEYMAURE TO
HIS CUSTODY.

Harl. MSS., v. 7003, f. 94, 96, 97; Sloane MSS., v. 4161, f. 51.

Royston, March 13, 1610-11.

James R.

RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD, AND TRUSTY
AND WELL-BELOVED,—We greet you well. Whereas
our cousin the Lady Arbella hath highly offended us
in seeking to marry herself without our knowledge (to
whom she had the honour to be near in blood), and
in proceeding afterwards to a full conclusion of a
marriage with the selfsame person whom (for many

* Printed in Halliwell's "Letters of the Kings of England."

just causes) we had expressly forbidden her to marry ; after he had in our presence, and before our Council, forsworn all interest as concerning her, either past or present, with solemn protestations upon his allegiance, in her hearing, never to renew any such motion again. Forasmuch as it is more necessary for us to make some such demonstration now of the just sense and feeling we have, after so great an indignity offered unto us, as may make others know by her example that no respect of personal affection can make us neglect those considerations wherein both the honour and order of the state is interested. We have therefore thought good, out of trust in your fidelity and discretion, to remit to your care and custody the person of our said cousin, requiring and authorizing you hereby to carry her down in your company to any house of yours as unto you shall seem best and most convenient, there to remain in such sort as shall be set down to you by directions from the Council, or any six of them, to whom we have both declared our pleasure for the manner of her restraint, and have also given in charge, upon conference with you, to take order for all things necessary either for her health or otherwise. This being, as you see, the difference between us and her—that whereas she hath abounded towards us in disobedience and ingratitude, we are (on the contrary) still apt to temper the severity of our justice with grace and favour towards her, as may well appear by the course we have taken to commit her only to your custody, in whose house she may be so well assured to receive all good usage, and see more

fruit and exercise of religion and virtue than in many other places. For all which this shall be your sufficient warrant.

From Royston, this 13th of March, 1610-11.

No. 18.

WARRANT TO SIR THOMAS PARRY, CHANCELLOR OF THE DUCHY OF LANCASTER, FROM THE LORDS OF THE COUNCIL, ORDERING HIM TO DELIVER ARBELLA TO THE BISHOP OF DURHAM.

State Papers, James I., Dom., vol. lxi. p. 30; Harl. MSS., v. 7003, f. 98.

March 15, 1610-11.

After our very hearty commendations.

Whereas it hath pleased his Majesty by letters under his royal signature to give order to the right reverend father in God, the Bishop of Durham, to receive into his charge the person of the Lady Arbella Seymaure, to be carried down and conveyed from hence in his company to such house of his as shall seem best and most convenient, there to remain in such sort and according to such directions as are contained in the said letters. Forasmuch as she was committed to your charge by his Majesty's commandment, and that it is meet the like order be taken for your discharge;

These are therefore to will and require you, according to his Majesty's good pleasure in that behalf, to deliver the person of the said lady unto our very good lord, the Bishop of Durham, to be by him conveyed as aforesaid, which we require you to perform this

present Friday. For which this shall be sufficient warrant. And we bid you heartily farewell.

From Whitehall, the 15th of March, 1610-11.

Your very loving friends,

T. ELLESMERE.	H. NORTHAMPTON.
R. SALISBURY.	GILB. SHREWSBURY.
T. SUFFOLK.	W. KNOWLES.
E. WORCESTER.	LENOX.
E. WOOTTON.	JUL. CÆSAR.

No. 19.

WARRANT TO SIR WILLIAM BOND.

Harl. MSS., v. 7003, f. 102; Sloane MSS., v. 4161, f. 53.

March 15, 1611.

Forasmuch as there is some occasion to make provision for one night's lodging for the Lady Arbella, in respect that she cannot conveniently recover Barnet, some things being wanting for her journey this afternoon, contrary to our expectations, we have thought good to entreat you not to refuse such a courtesy as the lending of a couple of chambers for her ladyship; because we doubt the inns there are full of inconveniences. By doing whereof you shall give us cause to report well of you to his Majesty. And so we commit you to God.

At Whitehall, the 15th of March, 1610.

Your loving friends,

R. SALISBURY.	H. NORTHAMPTON.
NOTTINGHAM.	T. SUFFOLKE.
E. WORCESTER.	GILB. SHREWSBURY.

JUL. CÆSAR.

To our loving friend, Sir William Bond, Knt., or, in his absence, to the Lady his wife at High Gate.

No. 20.

State Papers, James I., Dom., v. lxii. f. 88, MS.

March 7, 1611.

To the most noble and renowned lady, the Lady Arbella, her grace, humbly this d.d.

MOST HONOURABLE AND BELOVED LADY,—That which to the most seems great presumption for me (though thus dejected) to attempt this kind of enterprise unto so high a personage, the more noble and illustrious that you are (most honourable lady), I presume you will the less take notice of my fault, as only looking to the things wherein your virtues may be exercised, which is the truest note of that same disposition, all disposed to virtue holding all things else impertinent or not imagining that they have any being. And surely fame hath not been sparing to make known your honour's worthiness, comprising both the virtues of this nature, as it doth most worthily contain the virtues of the highest qualities. Whereby resting confident that as charity is not usually separated from the rest, so I do assure myself it cannot be the least of them your honour is endowed with. Which jointly lead me now to offer up my humble suit unto your honour, an occasion for your piety and pity to be seen, the one in pardoning my boldness, the other in relieving my necessity. Unto both whereof your honour may the rather be induced, being that as want hath privilege to seek succour everywhere, so it carrieth reason to be more lamented

when it is occasioned by adversities, which fareth now with me whose fortune hath been such an enemy unto my birth as hath brought my state to be unequal to my calling, and keeps me from my lawful husband and all rights by him, which are of extraordinary value ; wherein, being loth to be offensive to your honour by a tedious discourse, I humbly leave it to your wisdom, which is able to consider well of such distress. And both I and my poor children will daily pray for your honour's wished happiness.

Your honour's most humble suppliant at command,
ALICE COLLINGWOOD.

No. 21.

LADY CHANDOS TO DR. MOUNDFORD.

Harl. MSS., v. 7003, f. 109 ; Sloane MSS., v. 4161, f. 68.

Good Friday, 1611.

DOCTOR MOUNDFORD,—I desire the widow's prayer, with my humble service, may by you be presented to the Lady Arbella, who I hope God will so fortify her mind, as she will take this cross with such patience as may be to His pleasing, who, as this day signifies, took upon Him a good deal more for us ; and when He seeth time He will send comfort to the afflicted. I pray you if you want for the honourable lady what is in this house, you will send for it ; for most willingly the master and mistress of the house would have her ladyship command it. If the drink do like my lady,

spare not to send. The knight and my daughter remember their kind commendations unto yourself.

So I commit you to God, and rest as

Your friend,

FRANCIS CHANDOS.

(*Indorsed*, "To my friend, Mr. Dr. Moundford, at Barnet.")

Three undated letters written during Arabella's imprisonment.

No. 22.

LADY ARBELLA SEYMAURE TO LORD — [PROBABLY
LORD SALISBURY].

Draft. Harl. MSS., v. 7003, f. 104, 107; Sloane MSS.,
v. 4161, f. 54.

MY LORD,—The nobleness of your nature and the good opinion it hath pleased your lordship to hold of me heretofore emboldeneth me to beseech your lordship to enter into consideration of my distress, and to be touched with the misery I am in for want of his Majesty's favour, whose clemency and mercy is such that, if it would please ye to make my grief known, and how nearly it toucheth my heart that it hath been my hard fortune to offend his Majesty, I cannot doubt but it would gain me both mitigation of the hard doom and mercy in some measure to yield comfort to my soul, overwhelmed with the extremity of grief which hath almost brought me to the brink of the grave. I beseech your lordship deal so with me as my prayer may gain you God's reward,

for His sake, though it be but a cup of cold water. I mean any small hope of intercession of his Majesty's displeasure shall be most thankfully received by me. And I doubt not but, if it please your lordship to try your excellent gift * of speech, his Majesty will lend a gracious ear to your lordship, and I shall rest ever bound to pray for your lordship's happiness, who now myself rest the most unfortunate and afflicted creature living.

A. S.

No. 23.

LADY ARBELLA SEYMAURE TO —.

Cotton MSS., Vesp. F. 3, f. 35.†

(This letter is indorsed, "Arbella Seymaure to —, soliciting the person she writes to to use his interest with Lord Northampton to intercede for her with the King after her marriage with the Earl of Hertford.")

The indorsement is evidently added later, as it calls Seymour the "Earl of Hertford.")

SIR,—Though you be almost a stranger to me, but only by sight, yet the good opinion I generally hear to be held of your worth, together with the great interest you have in my Lord of Northampton's favour, makes me thus far presume of your willingness to do a poor afflicted gentlewoman a good office (if in no other respect, yet because I am a Christian) as to further me with your best endeavours to his

* One draft has "gifts of persuasion."

† Another copy of this is indorsed, "to Cromwell."

Alty so my extremity constraining
 me to labour to all my friends to
 become sutors to his Ma^{ty}. for his
 pardon of my fault, and my
 weaknesse not permitting me to
 write particularly I have made
 choice of your ^{hon^{or}} ^{to} ^{be} ^{receiving} ^{you} to move as
 many as ^{have} any ~~an~~ compassion of
 my affliction to ioyne in humble
 mediation to his Ma^{ty}. to forgive
 me the most penitent and ~~for~~
 sorrowfull creature that breathes

Your distressed Cousin
 A.S.

IN AUTOGRAPH OF ARABELLA STUART.

lordship, that it will please him to help me out of this great distress and misery, and regain me his Majesty's favour, which is my chiefest desire. Wherein his lordship may do a deed acceptable to God and honourable to himself, and I shall be infinitely bound to his lordship and beholden to you, who now, till I receive some comfort from his Majesty, rest the most sorrowful creature living.

ARBELLA SEYMAURE.

No. 24.

Harl. MSS., v. 7003, f. 149; and Sloane MSS., v. 4161, f. 65.

MY LORD,—My extremity constraining me to labour to all my friends to become suitors to his Majesty for his pardon of my fault, and my weakness not permitting me to write particularly, I have made choice of your lordship, humbly beseeching you to move as many as have any compassion of my affliction to join in humble mediation to his Majesty to forgive me, the most penitent and sorrowful creature that breathes.

Your distressed cousin,

A. S.

No. 25.

LADY ARBELLA SEYMOUR TO [VISCOUNT FENTON].

Draft. Harl. MSS., v. 7003, f. 153; Sloane MSS., v. 4161,
f. 63.

MY LORD,—The long acquaintance betwixt us, and the good experience of your honourable dealing heretofore, maketh me not only hope but be most assured,

that if you knew my most discomfortable and distressed estate, you would acquaint his Majesty withal and consequently procure my relief and redress as you have done other times. I have been sick even to the death, from which it hath pleased God miraculously to deliver me for this present danger, but find myself so weak * by reason I have wanted those ordinary helps whereby most others in my case, be they never so poor or unfortunate soever, are preserved alive at least for charity; that unless I may be suffered to have those about me that I may trust, this sentence my lord treasurer pronounced after his Majesty's refusing that trifle of my work, by your persuasion, as I take it, will prove the certain and apparent cause of my death. Whereof I then thought good to advertise you that you both may the better be prepared in case you, or either of you, have possessed the king with such opinions of me, as thereupon I shall be suspected and restrained till help come too late, and be assured that neither physician nor other but whom I think good shall come about me whilst I live till I have his Majesty's favour, without which I desire not to live. And if you remember of old I dare to die so I be not guilty of my own death, and oppress others with my ruin too, if there be no other way, as God forbid, to whom I commit you, and rest assuredly as heretofore, if you be the same to me,

Your lordship's faithful friend,

A. S.

* The words from "so weak" to the end are crossed out on f. 153, the rest of the letter on f. 154 being, perhaps, intended to replace it.

I can neither get clothes, nor posset ale, for example, nor anything but ordinary diet, nor complement fit for a sick body in my case when I call for it, not so much as a glister, saving your reverence.

The above (f. 153) is the corrected draft of a letter to Viscount Fenton, in which the words from "so weak" to the end are crossed out, and the following, given as a fragment only in the Harl. MSS., v. 7003, f. 154, added, the lady doubtless again changing her mind, making the fair copy as given above:—

That unless it please his Majesty to show me mercy, and that I may receive from your lordship at least some hope of regaining his Majesty's favour again, it will not be possible for me to undergo the great burden of his princely displeasure. Good my lord, consider, the fault cannot be uncommitted, neither can any more be required of any earthly creature but confession and most humble submission, which, if it should please your lordship to present to his Majesty, I cannot doubt but his Majesty would be pleased to mitigate his displeasure, and let me receive comfort. *I wish your lordship would in a few lines understand my misery, for my weakness is such that writing is very painful to me, and cannot be pleasant to any to read.* From your hand, my lord, I received the first favour, which favour, if I may obtain from your lordship's hand in my greatest necessity, I shall ever acknowledge myself bound to

* From * to * crossed out in the fragment, f. 154.

you for it, and the rest of my life shall show how highly I esteem his Majesty's favour. The Almighty send to your lordship health, and make you His good means to help me out of this great grief.

Your lordship's most distressed friend.

No. 26.

LADY ARBELLA SEYMOUR TO THE QUEEN.

Draft. Harl. MSS., v. 7003, f. 78; Sloane MSS., v. 4161, f. 32.

Probably Christmas, 1611.

May it please your most excellent Majesty to consider how long I have lived a spectacle of his Majesty's displeasure, to my unspeakable grief, and, out of that gracious disposition which moveth your royal mind to compassion of the distress, may it please your Majesty to move his Majesty in my behalf. I have presumed to present your Majesty herewith the copy of my humble petition to his Majesty against this time, when the rather I am sure his Majesty forgiveth greater offences as freely as he desires to be forgiven by Him whose sacrament he is to receive, though your Majesty's intercession at any time, I know, were sufficient. Thus hath my long experience of your Majesty's gracious favour to me and all good causes encouraged me to presume to address myself unto your Majesty, and increased the obligation of my duty in praying continually unto the Almighty for your Majesty's felicity in all things. And in all humility I remain

Your Majesty's.

I.

No. 1.

PROCLAMATION FOR THE ARREST OF LADY ARABELLA
AND WILLIAM SEYMORE.

Rymer's "Fœdera," vol. xvi. p. 710.

June 4, 1611.

Whereas we are given to understand that the Lady Arbella and William Seymour, second son to the Lord Beauchamp, being for divers great and heinous offences committed, the one to our Tower of London, and the other to a special guard, have found the means, by the wicked practices of divers lewd persons, as, namely, Markham, Crompton, Rodney, and others, to break prison, and make escape on Monday, the third day of June, with an intent to transport themselves into foreign parts.

We do hereby straitly charge and command all persons whatsoever, upon their allegiance and duty, not only to forbear to receive, harbour, or assist them in their passage any way, as they will answer it at their perils; but, upon the like charge and pain, to use the best means they can for their apprehension and keeping them in safe custody, which we will take as an acceptable service.

Given at Greenwich, the fourth day of June.

per ipsum REGEM.

No. 2.

PERSONS COMMITTED BY THE LORDS ON THE 4TH
AND 5TH OF JUNE, 1611, UPON OCCASION OF THE
LADY ARBELLA AND MR. SEYMOUR'S ESCAPE.

Harl. MSS., v. 7003, f. 140.

The Countess of Shrewsbury, committed to the
Tower.

Sir Jas. Croft, committed to the Fleet.

Dr. Moundford, close prisoner at the Gatehouse.

Adams, the minister's wife, to the Gatehouse.

To be examined—

Bates to the Bailiff of Westminster.

Pigott, sent to the Earl of Shrewsbury, to be forth-
coming.

Newgate—

John Baisley, waterman, committed to Davy
Roden, a messenger.

To some other place in the Tower—

Batten, Mr. Seymour's barber, committed to the
dungeon in the Tower, by Mr. Lieutenant.

Released—

Saladin, a Frenchman, committed to the porter's
lodge, in the Tower.

Mr. Seymour's butler, committed to the Tower.

Corvé, the French Skipper, to Newgate.

The Skipper of Ipswich, to the Gatehouse.

Note below—Smith to be examined.

ANOTHER LATER LIST AFTER ARABELLA'S CAPTURE.

Harl. MSS., v. 7003, f. 143.

(*Indorsed*, "Persons committed by the Lords.")

The La. Arbella.		
The Ctess. Shrewsbury.		
Fleet—		
Hugh Crompton, gent.		
Marsh.—		
William Markham, gent.		
Gateh.—		
Edward Reeves.		
Mrs. Bradshawe.		
Bonds—		
Batten, Mr. Seymour's barber.		
Mr. Seymour's butler.		
Removed—		
Sir James Croft, in the Fleet.		
Dr. Moundford.		
Bonds—		
Adams the minister's wife.		
Surson, the skipper, of Ipswich.		
Loses his place—		
Edward Kirton, gent.		
Tassin Corvé, the French skipper.		
To be sent to y ^e ambassador.		
John Baisley, waterman.		
To be delivered—		
Bates, the Earl of Shrewsbury's man, with the		
Bailiff of Westminster.		

In the
Tower.

In the
Gatehouse.

In
Newgate.

No. 3.

WARRANT TO THE LORDS OF THE COUNCIL.

State Papers, James I., Dom., vol. lxiv. p. 67, Docquet-Book,
June 30, 1611.

That they cause all such sums of money as are to be defrayed by his Majesty for the charges of apprehension of the Lady Arbella and her company, and her bringing up, to be paid out of such gold as hath been found upon her or in her company, or which hereafter shall be found to have been upon her or in her company at the time of her escape.

No. 4.

State Papers, James I., Dom., vol. lxvi. p. 23, Docquet-Book,
Sept. 21, 1611.

A letter to the Lords and others of his Majesty's Privy Council, requiring them to give order to Sir William Bowyer, Knight, and Henry Yelverton,* Esquire, to cause certain jewels remaining in the hands of the said Sir Wm. Bowyer, and found upon the Lady Arbella and her company at her intended departure out of this realm, to be valued and sold at the cost price, and the money thereby made to be paid to such of her creditors as she shall nominate. And for such money as was found with her and remaining with the said Bowyer, his Majesty's pleasure is at his suit, the same be delivered to the said Yelverton to discharge a debt of hers for which he is bound.

* Vol. ii. pp. 234, 236.

No. 5.

SUMMARY OF MINUTE TO SIR WM. BOWYER FROM
THE COUNCIL.

Harl. MSS., v. 7003, f. 138.

A certain parcel of gold, £868, and jewels, had been seized upon the Lady Arbella's person. It was to be inventoried and laid up until the king's pleasure was further known. The care of it to be entrusted to Bowyer, to the use of the aforesaid Lady Arbella, and such others as to whom they shall appear to belong. He is to take them to the Tower, and there, in the company and presence of the lieutenant, "show the said gold and jewels to the Lady Arbella, and to inform yourself from her ladyship to whom all the said gold and jewels belong; which, if she inform you they are hers, you are to detain them to her use, issuing and delivering no part thereof upon any warrant from her ladyship until you first acquaint the chancellor of the exchequer; and if the Lady Arbella says some is not hers, but belongs to her servants and other persons, we do require you to deliver them unto these persons, taking from them a sufficient acquittance for your discharge."

From Whitehall, 27th June, 1611.

No. 6.

Harl. MSS., v. 7003, f. 141.

A note of such jewels as my Lady Arbella affirmeth to be wanting, and desireth they may be inquired after.
Item—A poignard diamond ring.

Item—A flower de luce set with diamonds, which she thinketh is in a little box of wood, and left amongst her jewels.

Item—In the same box was a ring wherein was set a little sea-water green stone called an emeryn [aqua marine or emerald].

Item—A little jewel like a horn, with a great yellow stone called a jacynth, with opals and rubies. This was also amongst her jewels.

Item—A jewel like a star, set with opals.

Item—A piece of a chain of gold, set with rubies and pearls.

Item—Some four pearls set upon a cord, with eight other less pearls.

Item—A watch left in Mistress Bradshaw's trunk at Barnet.

Item—A little chest with wares (or waters).

J.

No. 1.

In the South Kensington Museum is a curious little book called "Salve Deus," dated 1611, and written by Mistress Emilia Lanyer, wife to Captain Alfonzo Lanyer, one of the king's household. The book, which consists of four parts, is entitled: "1. The Passion of Christ. 2. Eve's Apologie in Defence of Women. 3. The Teares of the Daughters of Jerusalem. 4. The Salutation of the V. Marie, with divers other things not unfit to be read." The interest of it to readers of this volume is its connection with Arabella, being not

only dedicated to "The Queen, Lady Elizabeth, to all vertuous Ladies in generall, to the *Lady Arbella*," but also containing verses in her honour. Curiously enough, the copy in the South Kensington Museum, which belonged to Prince Henry, has nine leaves of the dedication wanting—probably those in which Arabella is referred to; and the verses in her honour had evidently been cut out, as the pages on which they now stand in this particular copy have been supplied from another volume. The year of its publication, 1611, saw Arabella's disgrace, and no doubt Prince Henry's copy was carefully doctored before it was presented to him. The authoress must have composed it in 1610 or before, during Arabella's favour at court, since she dares to rank her with the queen and princess in her dedication. The verses are worth quoting, merely for their flattering references to Arabella's reputation as a great and learned lady, and the authoress's personal acquaintance with her virtue.

"Great learned Ladie, whom I long have knowne,
And yet not knowne so much as I desired;
Rare Phoenix, whose fair feathers are your owne,
With which you flie, and are so much admired;
True woman, whom true Fame hath so attired
In glittering raiment, shining much more bright
Than silver starres in the most frosty night;

"Come, like the morning sunne new out of bed,
And cast your eyes upon this little Booke;
Although you be so well accompanied
With Pallas and the Muses, spare one looke
Upon this humbled king, who all forsooke,
That in his dying arms he might embrace
Your beauteous soul, and fill it with his grace."

No. 2.

The following epitaph on Arabella was written by Richard Corbet, Bishop of Norwich, 1615, and may be found amongst his poems :—

“How do I thank thee, Death, and bless thy power,
That I have passed the guard, and 'scaped the Tower !
And now my pardon is my epitaph,
And a small coffin my poor carcase hath ;
For at thy charge both soul and body were
Enlarg'd at last, secur'd from hope and fear.
That amongst Saints, *this* amongst Kings is laid,
And what my birth did claim my death hath paid.”

No. 3.

THE ORDER FOR THE EMBALMMENT OF ARABELLA'S
BODY.

Devon's "Pell Records," p. 179, London : 1836.

By order, dated 12th of October, 1615. To Duncan Primrose, one of his Majesty's Surgeons, the sum of £6 13s. 4d., for charges disbursed about the embalming of the body of the late Lady Arbella, appearing by his bill of particulars, subscribed and allowed by us.

By writ, dated 25th of July, 1616.

No. 4.

The following curious ballad (printed both by Miss Cooper and Lady Theresa Lewis) was published in the reign of James I., and is interesting, as giving the popular view of Arabella's case :—

“THE TRUE LOVER’S KNOT UNTIED :

Being the right path whereby to advise Princely Virgins how to behave themselves by the example of the renowned Princess, the Lady Arbella, and the second son [grandson] of the Lord Seymour, late Earl of Hertford. To the tune of ‘Frogs Galliard,’ etc.

- “As I to Ireland did pass,
I saw a ship at anchor lay ;
Another ship likewise there was,
Which from fair England took her way.
- “This ship that sailed from fair England
Unknown unto our gracious king,
The Lord Chief Justice did command
That they to England should her bring.
- “I then drew near, and saw more plain
Lady Arbella in distress ;
She wrung her hands and wept amain,
Bewailing of her heaviness.
- “When near fair London Tower she came,
Whereat her landing-place should be,
The King and Queen, with all their train,
Did meet this lady gallantly.
- “‘How now, Arbella?’ said our King,
Unto this lady straight did say ;
‘Who hath first tied ye to this thing,
That you from England took your way?’
- “‘None but myself, my gracious Liege.
These ten long years I’ve been in love
With the Lord Seymour’s second son,
[The Earl of Hartford, so we prove].*’

* Brackets are placed here, as this probably is a remark of the ballad-writer, William Seymour no doubt having become Earl of Hertford at the time the poem was written.

“ ‘ Though he be not the mightiest man
Of goods and livings in the land,
Yet I have lands us to maintain :
So much your grace doth understand.

“ ‘ My lands and livings, so well known
Unto your books of Majesty,
Amount to twelve score pound a week,
Besides what I do give,’ quoth she.

“ ‘ In gallant Darbyshire, likewise,
I nine score beadsmen maintain there,
With hats and gowns and house-rent free,
And every man five marks a year.

“ ‘ I never raised rent,’ said she,
‘ Nor yet oppressed the tenant poor ;
I never took no bribes for fines ;
For why ? I had enough before.

“ ‘ Whom of your nobles will do so
For to maintain the commonalty,
Such multitudes would never grow,
Nor be such store of poverty.

“ ‘ I would I had a milkmaid been,
Or born of some more low degree ;
Then I might have loved where I like,
And no man could have hinder’d me.

“ ‘ Or would I were some yeoman’s child,
For to receive my portion now
According unto my degree,
As other virgins whom I know.

“ ‘ The highest branch that soars aloft
Needs must beshade the myrtle tree ;
Needs must the shadow of them both
Shadow the third in his degree.

“ ‘ But when the tree is cut and gone,
And from the ground is borne away ;
The lowest tree that there doth stand,
In time may grow as high as they.

“ ‘ Once when I thought to have been queen,
But yet that still I do deny ;
I knew your grace had right to the crown
Before Elizabeth did die.

“ ‘ You of the eldest sister came ;
I of the second in degree ;
The Earl of Hartford of the third—
A man of royal blood was he.

“ ‘ And so good night, my Sovereign Liege ;
Since in the Tower I must lie,
I hope your Grace will condescend
That I may have my liberty.’

“ ‘ Lady Arbella,’ said our King,
‘ I to your freedom would consent
If you would turn and go to church,
There to receive the Sacrament.

“ ‘ And so good night, Arbella fair,’
The King replied to her again ;
‘ I will take counsel of my nobility,
That you your freedom may obtain.’

“ ‘ Once more to prison must I go !’
Lady Arbella then did say ;
‘ To leave my love breeds all my woe,
The which will bring my life’s decay.

“ ‘ Love is a knot none can unknit ;
Fancy a liking of the heart.
Him whom I love I cannot forget,
Though from his presence I must part.

“ ‘The meanest people enjoy their mates,
But I was born unhappily ;
For, being crost by cruel fates,
I want both love and liberty.

“ ‘But Death, I hope, will end the strife ;
Farewell, farewell, my love !’ quoth she ;
‘Once I had thought to have been thy wife,
But now am forced to part with thee.’

“ ‘At this sad meeting she had cause
In heart and mind to grieve full sore ;
After that time Arbella fair
Did never see young Seymour more.”

A careful perusal of these doggrel verses may serve to illustrate the incorrectness of popular rumour. Old Lord Hertford died in 1621; James, in 1625. As when the ballad was written James was alive, and Lord Hertford lately dead, not many years had passed since Arabella's disappearance from the world; yet at every turn the poem is incorrect. It is enough to call attention to the remark put in James's mouth, that, if she would take the Sacrament in the English Church, she would be pardoned—as if her crime consisted in having been a Roman Catholic, though no doubt she was too much of a Puritan in religion to suit the King's taste. Besides this, there is a later ballad first printed in Evans' "Collection of Ballads," supposed by Disraeli to be by Mickle; also a poem by Mrs. Hemans.

ADDENDA.

THE following notes were not brought under the author's notice till the book was in the press, and therefore are added at the end of Part II. instead of in their proper sequence.

A.

ARABELLA'S CLAIMS TO THE CROWN, AND CHARACTER, DISCUSSED BY A CONTEMPORARY.

In Sir John Harington's* "Tract on the Succession to the Crown" (said to be written about 1602, but, from internal evidence, parts at least must have been earlier), after a discussion on Dolman's book—Father Parson's famous tract—Harington refers to Arabella's claims, but sets them aside in favour of James. He gives some further details about Arabella.

"My Lady Arbella also now began to be spoken of and much commended, as she is well worthy for many noble parts, and the Earl of Essex, in some glancing speeches, gave occasion to have both himself and her

* Published by the Roxburghe Club, 1880 (see pp. 40-45).

honourable friends to be suspected of that which I suppose was no part of their meaning," *i.e.* to join in the Spanish Plots to marry Arabella to a Catholic, and support her title to the crown. Since that "all is suddenly turned French . . . some wise and honest men fear there is some strange matter in working. . . . Besides, some ambiguous words are reported that the French king should use, namely, that 'a Bastard of Normandy was fatal to England,' " but even if the queen listen to these French suggestions out of policy, "yet in my soul I do not think that ever she will agree that a goodly young lady, aged about twenty-four years, should be so disparaged as to be matched with a Bastard of France under fourteen, and made a new Helena to burn our Troy dormant, and run away by the light. And if some great counsellors [*Lords Salisbury and Shrewsbury*] do make some shews, and cast out some words afore fools in favour of Arbella's title for the purpose aforesaid [*for policy*], and to follow the queen's present humour, yet must they not be so hardly or rashly censured as they are by some men of shallow insight, but rather praised, or at least pardoned, if, for some necessary policy of State, they labour, like to our oars on the Thames, to row one way and look another. It is not likely that Dolman knew the purpose of my Lord of Shrewsbury, or of the countess and her brothers, or of my lord's good friends. It is less likely that ever they would say words that might be captious in this time, and odious in the next. It is least likely that when it comes to trial they will hazard so great estates, so contented

lives, so gentlemanly pleasures, so sweet duties, to advance their niece against law, reason, probability, yea, possibility. I have known them all, and resorted to them these sixteen years and more."

All had agreed in extolling Arabella: "sometime of her virtuous disposition, sometime of her choice education, her rare skill in languages, her good judgment and sight in music, and a mind to all these free from pride, vanity, and affectation, and the greatest sobriety in her fashion of apparel and behaviour as may be, of all of which I have been myself an eyewitness, having seen her several times at Hardwick, at Chelsea, where she made me read the tale of *Drusilla* in *Orlando* unto her, and censured it with a gravity beyond her years. And first of all at *Wingfield*, when, being thirteen years old, she did read French out of Italian, and English out of both, much better than I could, or than I expected."

On December 21, 1608, *Harington* writes to a friend a fact which would, if true, account for the absence of any news about Arabella, after her own letter of November, during the winter of 1608. "I hear now that my Lady Arbella is fallen sick of the small-pox, and that my Lady Skinner attendeth her, and taketh great pains with her." (From manuscript note of Canon Jackson's.)

B.

Vol. i. p. 252. Confession* of William Seymour, signed in his own handwriting.

* Discovered by Miss Cooper.

THE EXAMINATION OF WILLYAM SEMAR (*sic*), ESQ.,
BEFORE THE LORDS OF HIS MAJESTY'S PRIVY
COUNCIL, THE 8TH OF JULY, 1610.

Tanner MSS., v. 75, f. 353, Bodl. Library. Printed by Canon Jackson in the *Wilts. Archæological Magazine*, vol. xv. p. 203.

He confesseth that upon Friday was fortnight he was married unto the Lady Arbella at Greenwich, in the chamber of the said Lady Arbella there. That there was present one Blagew, son to the Dean of Rochester, who was the minister that married them; there were also present one Edward Rodné; Crompton, gent. usher to the Lady Arbella; Edward Kyrton, and Edward Reve [*Reeves*]; Mrs. Biron, and Mrs. Bradshawe, two servants to the Lady Arbella. The marriage was on the Friday morning beforesaid, between four and five of the clock, but without any license, as he confesseth.

He saith he came to Greenwich on the Thursday at night, about twelve of the clock, accompanied with the said Rodné and Kyrton, and did sit up in the Lady Arbella her chamber all the night until they were married.

“WILLIAM SEYMAURE.”

C.

Among the family archives at Bolton Castle is a Mr. John Taylor's account of the consternation at court in June, 1611, about Arabella's escape. The first idea (before her escape) seems to have been to have committed her to the care of Taylor's master, the Earl

of Cumberland, at Londesborough ; "a man of less vigilance could not have been chosen." Taylor writes to Lord Clifford at Paris, June 12, 1611 :—"I forbear to write much of my Lady Arbella and Mr. Seymour's escape, and her apprehension and imprisonment in the Tower, because my Lord Cumberland hath advice thereof. And so of my Lady Shrewsbury's imprisonment for the same matter. We may thank God and friends that she was not sent to Londesbro' at first." (Copied by Canon Jackson from Whitaker's "History of Craven," p. 282.)

Vol. i. p. 176. The Sir Griffin Markham, who was concerned in the Bye Plot, was eldest son of Thomas, called Black Markham, of Kirby Bellers. He was no doubt acquainted with Arabella, as he lived principally at Ollerton Hall, near Rufford, where, on her progress of 1609, she stayed a night with his brother George. Sir Griffin was banished after the Bye Plot, but is supposed to have paid many visits to England in disguise, and even said to have assisted in Arabella's escape ("History of the Markham Family," by the late Canon Markham). This cannot be a fact, as the Markham who fled with Arabella was a certain William Markham, "gentleman" (vol. ii. pp. 30, 269). It is possible, however, that he was William Markham of Oakley, a younger brother of Thomas, and uncle of Sir Griffin.

D.

The following notes are taken from a manuscript collection made by the Rev. Canon J. E. Jackson at

Longleat, which the author was allowed to see by his kind permission.

Correct copies are there given of the original letters amongst the Talbot MSS. at Longleat relating to Arabella's affairs.

A few of these are from copies, made in the last century by a Dr. Nathaniel Johnston, of Talbot MSS., of which some of the originals have since disappeared, or cannot be traced. Dr. Johnston prefaces his collection of Arabella's letters (the originals of most of which are at Longleat) by a short account of her life. He well describes these letters to her uncle and aunt of Shrewsbury, as "a very well enamelled Picture of herself, drawn by her own pen, wherein equal commendation is to be given to the easiness of her Stile, and the Quickness of her Invention and Phancy much outdoing the Ladies of that Age." He had also seen a Hebrew Bible of hers with an embroidered cover, which she used at church.

Dr. Birch took his copies (in the Sloane MSS., v. 4164) from Dr. Johnston's MSS. and the originals at Longleat, in July, 1754, and made many slips and mistakes, which have been rectified in this volume from the correct copies lent by Canon Jackson.

The author has dated a letter from Arabella to her aunt Lady Shrewsbury, 1608 (see vol. i. p. 226, and vol. ii. p. 223), which Canon Jackson places in 1605 (also conjecturally), when Arabella was at Hardwick on a visit to her grandmother (see vol. i. p. 212).

Arabella's letters at Longleat are usually sealed with the Lenox coat of arms, somewhat imperfectly

given, and half of a motto, or a wolf rampant (see opposite title-pages, vols. i. and ii.).

Amongst Dr. Johnston's copies of missing Talbot papers is an undated letter (incorrectly printed by Miss Cooper, vol. ii. p. 14), in which Earl Gilbert requests the Justices of the Peace for Notts. to put one Sherston in the stocks at Mansfield, for uttering "lewd and slanderous" speeches against Arabella.

Vol. i. p. 201. Canon Jackson believes that Cook's letter refers to the purchase, from Sir George Hume, of the manor of Hartington, co. Derby, which had been promised to the old Earl George of Shrewsbury, in compensation for the charge of Mary Queen of Scots, but never granted him. Hume finally consented to sell it to his son, Earl Gilbert, but at the high price of £1200. Referring to Arabella's part as a peacemaker, and her visit to Hardwick in 1605 (March 13, 1604-5), Sir Francis Leek writes to Earl Gilbert, "I did never hear that the Lady Arbella's coming into this country was by your lordship's means, neither do I yet hear any cause of her coming down, but to see my old lady, her right honourable grandmother. But to deliver my own opinion, I did in my heart rejoice at her coming, and trusted the same would have redounded to the appearing, or at least entrance to qualify such controversies and suits as yet depend unended betwixt your lordship and my old lady" (Talbot MSS., vol. i. part 2, p. 127).

A letter of March 31, 1604, from Earl Gilbert's son-in-law, the Earl of Kent, Arabella's host at Wrest House, speaks of her good affection for him as shown

in her support of his suit for the estate of Ruthin. "For the which, as for many her other most honourable favours, I am and ever will be most thankful unto her for the same."

Vol. i. p. 213. The Earl of Worcester writes to Earl Gilbert, April 27, 1605 (1604 in the manuscript is an impossible date), that the king intended to create some new peers at "this pretty young lady," Princess Mary's christening, and had given Arabella a patent with a blank for the name, at her request, "to be created either then, or hereafter to be named and created at her pleasure" (Talbot MSS., vol. iv. p. 151). This she used for her uncle William.

Vol. i. p. 226. On February 17, 1608, Salisbury writes to Earl Gilbert that "my Lady Arbella is gone towards you," and on March 7 that he is sorry for her indisposition (Talbot MSS., vol. iv. pp. 191, 192).

Vol. i. p. 260. Lady Jane Drummond; see an account of her and a facsimile of "Arbella Seymaure's" signature in Hone's "Every-Day Book," vol. ii. p. 237.

Vol. i. p. 252. In Crompton's account-book, discovered at Longleat by Canon Jackson, are many valuable notes relating to Arabella's movements and expenditure. The most important are those from November, 1613, after Crompton's release from prison, to May 30, 1614. By these notes we see that Arabella continued to receive her allowance of £800 and her rents. So far also was she from being a raving lunatic, that she directs her expenditure even from the Tower. Crompton constantly sends money to her, "on a warrant from my lady," and she continued to purchase

jewels, clothes, and furniture. In December, 1613, she redeems "ten great pearls" which had been pawned, and purchased some plate and a diamond ring. An entry of £20 to a Dr. Palmer evidently is connected with her attempted escape in 1613 (vol. ii. p. 69). Besides her own expenditure, Crompton enters various sums of money sent to William Seymour abroad, showing that Arabella desired to help her absent husband in his money difficulties. For her own diet in the Tower, £142 6s. 1d. for twelve weeks, from April to June, 1614, is entered in the account-book. Canon Jackson also discovered, amongst the Talbot MSS. at Longleat, an original discharge of accounts given by Seymour and Arabella to Crompton, and signed by their names—the only extant paper in which the husband's and wife's signatures appear together. Rodney and Kirton are the witnesses; Arabella uses one of the Lenox seals (a wolf rampant), which is to be found on other letters at Longleat. The date given is March 21, 1610; this, however, must be 1611, since in March, 1610, the marriage had not taken place. On March 21, 1611, Arabella was moved from Highgate to Barnet. Seymour was in the Tower, but apparently they met clandestinely that day, aided by Rodney and Kirton, to sign and seal this document. The discharge of "all accounts, reckonings, receipts, and demands whatsoever whereby he may be charged by us or either of us from the beginning of the world until the day of the date of this present" is no doubt in preparation for their escape across the seas, to

protect Crompton from any liability for Arabella's debts. Arabella's extreme reluctance to leave Highgate may have been caused by Seymour's hidden presence.

Vol. ii. p. 86. List of portraits. Canon Jackson mentions two other portraits of Arabella—one a head at Longleat; the other a three-quarter length, full face, in a white, jewelled, and embroidered dress. The latter was sold at Christie's in 1884 for £94 10s. It had formerly hung in the church of Queen Camel, Somerset, and was long said to represent Queen Elizabeth. In 1827 a miniature of Arabella, "in the dress and dishevelled hair she wore when confined in the Tower," was one of ten Stuart miniatures sold at Christie's, and bought by the Rev. M. Butt for £147.

Vol. ii. p. 261. Canon Jackson fixes the recipient of this undated letter as Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury (he died in 1612; the period when the letter was written was probably 1611), as in a previous note to her uncle Arabella had referred to Cecil's "rare gift of speech" (p. 193).

In 1677, John Owen dedicated the fourth book of his epigrams to "the most noble and most learned heroine, the Lady Arbella Stuart." Three of these epigrams—the first, second, and last—are written to her. They are in Latin, but Canon Jackson gives translations by Thomas Harvey; in one is a play upon her name (see vol. i. p. 254), *Ara-bella—a Fair Altar*.

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